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डा० रामकरण शर्मा
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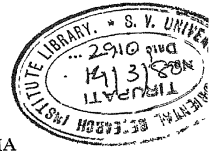
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लेखकमहोदयै प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ता ,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यास च निबध्नन्ति

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सरस्वती-स्तवनम्

ब्रह्मस्वरूपा परमा ज्योतीरूपा सनातनी।
सर्वविद्याधिदेवी या तस्यै वाण्यै नमो नम ॥

यया विना जगत् सर्व शश्वज्जीवन्मृत सदा।
ज्ञानाधिदेवी या तस्यै सरस्वत्यै नमो नम ॥

यया विना जगत् सर्व मूकमुन्मत्तवत् सदा।
वागधिष्ठातृदेवी या तस्यै वाण्यै नमो नम ॥

हिमचन्दनकुन्देन्दुकुमुदाम्भोजसन्निभा ।
वर्णाधिदेवी या तस्यै चाक्षरायै नमो नम ॥

विसर्गबिन्दुमात्राणा यदधिष्ठानमेव च।
इत्थ त्व गीयते सद्भिर्भारत्यै ते नमो नम ॥

यया विनाऽत्र सख्याकृत् सख्या कर्त्तु न शक्नुते।
कालसख्यास्वरूपा या तस्यै देव्यै नमो नम ॥

व्याख्यास्वरूपा या देवी व्याख्याधिष्ठातृदेवता।
भ्रमसिद्धान्तरूपा या तस्यै देव्यै नमो नम ॥

स्मृतिशक्तिर्ज्ञानशक्तिर्बुद्धिशक्तिस्वरूपिणी।
प्रतिभाकल्पनाशक्तिर्या च तस्यै नमो नमः ॥

—(*Brahmavaivarta P., Prakrti-Kh.* 5 10–17)

NOTE ON THE SARASVATĪ-STAVANA

In this *stavana* or eulogy sage Yajñavalkya eulogises Goddess Sarasvatī The importance of this *stavana* is that Sarasvatī has been represented here as the power of speech and also the speech itself (*vāk, vāṇī, bhāratī*) as well as the presiding deity of speech (*vāg-adhiṣṭhātr-devī*), she is all the knowledge and also the presiding deity of knowledge and its various sciences (*sarvavidyādhidevī* and *jñānādhidevī*) Then, she also presides over all the letters of an alphabet (*varṇādhidevī*), *visarga, bindu* and *mātrā-s* Without her aid one cannot even count numbers and so she is the presiding deity of numbers, and also assumes the form of numbers (*Kāla-samkhyā-svarūpā*) Thus, she presides over all the various works of knowledge and different sciences, which are and may be composed by learned authors She also assumes the form of a commentary (*vyākhyā-svarūpā*) and also presides over it (*vyākhyādhiṣṭhātrī*). Then, she is herself both the aspects of knowledge—wrong knowledge and the right or valid knowledge—(*bhramasiddhānta-rūpā*) That is to say, knowledge whether it is wrong or right, whether it is in the form of fallacy or illusion (*bhrama*) or a right conclusion or an admitted truth (*siddhānta*)—all that is Goddess Sarasvatī

Letters (*varna s*), *visarga, bindu* and *mātrā-s* belong to speech whether written or spoken, fallacious and right knowledge comprises all knowledge, and hence all speech and knowledge is Sarasvatī herself and also presided by her [All (this speech, acquisition of knowledge and knowledge expressed through speech) may be regarded as the functions of mind which it (the mind) performs with its inherent powers called mental powers or faculties such as the power of memory (*smṛti-śakti*), power of knowing (*jñāna-śakti*), power of understanding (*buddhi-śakti*), genius (*pratibhā*) and power of imagination (*Kalpanā-śakti*)—all this is the form of Sarasvatī herself. This all-embracing conception of Goddess Sarasvatī in the sphere of speech, knowledge and mind (an instrument of speech and knowledge) has been so vividly brought out in this *Sarasvatī-stavana*, which inspires us to sublimate and even deify human speech and knowledge and all the psychological faculties and functions of mind. A man who regards speech, knowledge and mind as divine gifts and

has a veneration and respect for them, regarding these as the real divine aspects and manifestations of Goddess Sarasvatī on the human plane is a real devotee and worshipper of Sarasvatī Only such a man can truly eulogise Goddess Sarasvatī Sage Yajñavalkya was really such a person Hence, the eulogy (*stuti*) sung by him with an inspired mental attitude is really worth studying, so that it may also inspire us and lead us towards the real devotion of Sarasvatī so that we may be fit persons to sing the praise of Goddess Sarasvatī. Without realising this divine aspect of speech, knowledge and mental faculties in our life the singing of the praise (*stuti*) of Goddess Sarasvatī may be a mere lip-eulogy and may not lead us to our desired goal This is the lesson which may be derived from this *stavana* of Sarasvatī reproduced here

– Anand Swarup Gupta

LĪLĀ IN THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀNA

By

CLIFFORD G HOSPITAL

[अत्र श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणे वर्णितानां भगवतो लीलानां विवेचनं कृतम्। ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य 'लोकवत्तु लीलाकैवल्यम्'(२ १.३३) सूत्रस्य व्याख्यानं आचार्यैर्बहुविधं प्रस्तुतम्। जगत सर्ग· पालन सहारश्च ब्रह्मणो लीलाविलास एव। वस्तुतो भगवतो लीला तस्य नैसर्गिक विलसनमेवास्ति। अस्या लीलाया न कोऽपि वाह्यो हेतु। प्रारम्भे लेखकेन लीलापदार्थस्य विविधार्थाः स्पष्टीकृता। अनन्तर भागवत-पुराणानुसारतो भगवत कृष्णस्य बाललीलासुरसहारगोपीक्रीडनादि-काना विविधलीलाना संक्षेपतो विमर्शो विहितः।]

The idea of play is a very important one in the history of Hindu thought The earliest major text where the word "*līlā*" occurs is the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyana, which predates BhP by up to a thousand years. All of the major commentators on the *Brahmasūtra* discuss the use of the word as it occurs in 2 1 33 *lokavat tu līlā kaivalyam* "But as in ordinary life, creation is mere sport,"[1] and virtually all agree in interpreting this on the analogy of kings who are completely fulfilled, and who therefore play, not to fulfil some hidden inner need, but as a spontaneous act

> [Śaṁkara] uses the example of breathing which goes on without reference to any extraneous purpose, merely following the laws of its own nature So also creation proceeds from the nature of the Supreme without reference to any purpose [2]

The idea is that creation is not something that God needs to do. It is not a sign of incompleteness in God To talk of God's incompleteness would be inherently contradictory, God does not *need* to create So, in order to preserve the nature of God, one emphasizes that he is independent of his act of creation It is perhaps in keeping with this that BhP says the Lord is self-fulfilled

1 See S Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sutra* (New York : Harper and Brothers, 1960), p 362

2. *Ibid*

(*ātmārāma*),[3] not attached to his creation or to his devotees. In all this, the connotation of *līlā* is merely negative It is a safeguarding of the Lord from imperfection

There is clearly a considerable development from this view of *līlā* to the use of *līlā* as part of the compound *Rāmalīlā*, a word used to designate dramas which re-enact the events of the life of Rāma The term is, as Norvin Hein has indicated,[4] directly related to the use by Tulasīdās in the *Rāmcaritmānas* of the term *Harilīlā* ("play or sport of Hari") Tulsīdās uses this as a generic term for the activity of Viṣnu in his incarnation as Rāma, and it is this account of Rāma's life in the *Rāmcaritmānas* which forms the basis of the drama known as *Rāmlīlā* Here the focus of *līlā* is the activity of God not in the creation of the world, but rather in his incarnations

Another aspect of later Vaisnava understandings of *līlā* can be seen in the writing of Baladeva, a Bengali Vaisnava of the eighteenth century As Radhakrishnan indicated, when Baladeva comments on the word *līlā* in the Brahmasūtra, he interprets it as a spontaneous expression of joy

> Baladeva makes out that *līlā* or sport is the overflow of the joy within As in ordinary life, a man full of cheerfulness on awakening from sound sleep dances about without any motive or need but simply from the fullness of spirit, so is the case with the creation of the world by God [5]

There are in these two examples, three important shifts in the connotation of *līlā* from that found in the *Brahmasūtra* as interpreted by earlier commentators

(1) *Līlā* may refer to incarnation rather than to creation

(2) The *līlā* of the Lord in his incarnation is something that the devotee might well imitate in dramatic activity

(3) The *līlā* of God is not merely purposeless activity, rather it is spontaneous and joyous self-expression

3 *Bhāgavata Purāna* (Bombay Venkatesvara Press, 1910) 10 33 20 Hereafter abbreviated as BhP

4 Norvin Hein, *The Miracle Plays of Mathura* (New Haven and London Yale University Press, 1972), p 70

5 Radhakrishnan, *op cit.*, p 362.

In relation to the development of all three of these ideas, the BhP is a crucial text, so that the BhP understanding of the idea of play merits careful study

It should be noted at the outset that there are other words than *līlā* used in BhP for this idea of play or sport The most common of these are derivatives of krīd and vi + √hṛ The term *līlā*, however, is the one that develops as a powerful motif for conceiving the significance of the activity of God

As in the *Brahmasūtra*, the link of the concept of *līlā* with the activity of God in the cosmic process is quite important in BhP. A frequently recurring formula refers to the three phases of creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe *(udbhava-sthāna-nirodha*,[6] *udbhava-sthiti-laya*,[7] *sarga-sthiti-samyama*,[8] etc) Not infrequently this is linked with the idea of play BhP 1 10 24 refers to the Lord who in his play *(ātma-līlayā)* creates, preserves and destroys the universe and is not attached to it Often the motif occurs in hymns like the following

> I bow down to the endless one,
> of enduring power, of pure deeds,
> of imperishable self—
> who, in his play,
> executes the creation, preservation and destruction
> of the universe
> by means of the *gunas* [9]

What the implications of the term *līlā* are in the context of these formulae is impossible to say, for there are no clues given One's estimate here will have to depend upon other evidences. A piece which suggests a view similar to that of the *Brahmasūtra* is BhP 6 15 where the sages Angiras and Nārada are explaining to King Citraketu—who is weighed down with grief at the death of his son—that relationships in one lifetime do not endure beyond that life : all things pass away. There follows a verse which serves to give a basis for not clinging to the things of the world.

6 BhP 2 4.12
7 3 9.14
8 7 8 40
9. *Ibid*

By means of beings
who are created by him
and who are not independent,
the Lord of beings creates, preserves and destroys
the beings of the universe—
indifferent, like a child [10]

The argument here is somewhat similar to that in which *līlā* is used to point up the indifference, and hence perfection, of God It develops its implications, however, not for the perfection of God, but for the life of man The idea is that if God is not attached to the universe—that is, it fulfils no purpose for him—the devotee also should not be attached to it, his attachment should be elsewhere

This is in keeping with many of the BhP's expressions about liberation. But BhP also views Bhagavān as Lord of the cosmic process and we shall attempt later to understand the relation of that to the concept of *līlā*

The link of the idea of play and the idea of *avatāra* occurs in texts earlier than BhP In both H and ViP the childhood activities of Kṛsna are described in terms which suggest their playfulness [11] But no wider implications are drawn from this fact In BhP, however, the playfulness of the Lord has spread far beyond the childhood of Kṛsna One can get some idea of the vast embrace of *līlā* through consideration of a word which appears in BhP as a technical term for the *avatāras* of the Lord They are called *līlāvatāra* Although there is no explanation of the meaning of this term, in one section where it is used, the context is enlightening . in 2.7 there is a list of twenty-four *avatāras* which are introduced as *līlāvatāras*.[12] In the list the idea of play occurs three times *viharan* (v 28), *salīlām* (v 32), and *krīdan* (v 33). All refer to events in the life of the youthful Kṛsna Within the wider context of BhP 2 6 and 2.7, *līlāvatāra* stands in contrast to two other terms . first, *ādyo 'vatārah. .parasya* ("the primordial *avatāra* of the Supreme One")[13] which is then described in a series that begins with *puruṣa*

10 6 15 6

11 See the translations by H H Wilson and M N Dutt of *Viṣnu Purāna* 5 6-14 and *Harivamśa* chapters 61-63

12. 2.6 45.

13. 2.6 41.

and goes through the beings and elements that make up the universe, and second, when the account of *līlāvatāras* is complete, Brahmā mentions some more specialized beings and concepts related to the phases of cosmic process, and these he calls *māyā-vibhūtis*

> At the time of creation,
> there is *tapas*, myself, the nine *ṛṣis*,
> and those who are the lords of creatures,
> then in the time of maintenance
> there is *dharma*, Viṣnu, Manu,
> the kings of the gods and the kings of earth,
> at the end,
> there is *adharma*, Hara and the *asuras*
> subject to anger
> These are the *māyā-vibhūtis*
> of that supremely powerful one [14]

In BhP 2 6 and 2 7 then, there is a theological attempt to place the *avatāras* of the Lord in the context of his other manifestations There are thus three basic kinds of manifestations the primal *avatāra*, his manifestation as the cosmic Puruṣa, the universe deriving from Puruṣa, the supernal manifestations of his *māyā* seen in the principles which are characteristic of, and the beings who are associated with the different phases of the cosmic process; and the *avatāras* called *līlāvatāras*

The distinguishing of the direct manifestations of the Lord in an embodied form as *līlāvatāras* reflects a theology developing within the whole of BhP For in this short account of *līlāvatāras* the play is made explicit in the activities of Kṛṣṇa, in the broad scope of the Purāna also while there are suggestions of the idea in accounts of other avatāras it is in Kṛṣna that the fullness of this *līlā* is seen.

In the account of *varāha* the use of *līlā* occurs in reference to both of the central activities, the slaying of the Daitya Hiraṇyākṣa (3 13 32) and the raising of the earth from Rasātala (3 13.47).[15] As the end of the account is reached, there is a formal recapitula-

14. 2 7 39

15. See also 4 7 26.

tion in which the slaying of Hiranyāksa is called a *mahādbhutaṃ vikrīḍitam* (3 19 37), and later the raising of earth from Rasātala and the slaying of Hiranyāksa are together referred to as *līlā* (3 20 8)

In relation to the *nrsimha avatāra*, there is a hymn to Hari sung by Prahlāda at the slaying of Hiranyakasipu

The playing of this blessed Lord
by means of these beautiful *avatāra*
is for the protection and well being of the universe
and for his own personal enjoyment [16]

There is also a formal conclusion to the story of *nrsimha* in which it is described as 'the lion-play of the primal person' [17]

In the accounts of *kūrma* and *matsya* the word used to express the idea of play is one often used for water sports—vi + √hr. At the beginning of the account of the Tortoise, Hari is pictured as 'desirous of sporting by means of the churning of the ocean, etc,' [18] Similarly at the beginning of the story of the Fish (8 24 31)

Within the extended account of *matsya* the word is used again, and it also occurs at 8.24 54 and 2 7 12 in summary statements about the Fish

In the account of the churning of the ocean, before the Lord actually assumes the Tortoise form, he is pictured as taking Mount Meru and placing it in the ocean to be used as a churning rod

Having with *līlā*
lifted the mountain on to Garuda
with one hand,
and having himself mounted Garuda,
he proceeded to the ocean
surrounded by the hosts of *suras* and *asuras* [19]

An intriguing aspect of this description is that it prefigures the raising by Krsna of the hill Govardhana, also performed 'with *līlā*. (10 25 19)

16 7 9 13b *ksemāya bhūtaya ulātmasukhāya cāsya vikrīḍitaṃ bhagavato rucirāvatārīṇi*

17. 7.10 44 *ādipurusasya mrgendralīlām*

18. 8.6 17

19[1] 8 6.38[2]

2

The account of the Dwarf (*vāmana*) does not associate directly the action of the Lord with *līlā* But just after the central action of the three steps has been undertaken the Lord is addressed by the wife of Bali Vindhyāvali (8 22 20) . 'The three worlds have been created by you, O Lord, for the purpose of play' It seems almost inconceivable that this does not also have undertones suggesting the playfulness of the Lord in taking his three strides It is the manifestation of the Lord as the cosmic *puruṣa* in the account of the three strides which most easily lends itself to an association of the general idea of the world created by the Lord in play, and this more specific one of the Lord's play in his *avatāras* And finally, the Rāma story which is not told in great detail in BhP, probably because the author of BhP is clearly much more interested in Kṛṣṇa, the link with *līlā* is still made (9 11 20)

Clearly, then, there is a quite studied attempt on the part of the BhP author to link these *avatāras* with the idea of play But we are given little indication here of what is implied in the use of *līlā* and its equivalents In order to begin to understand what is being expressed in these earlier *avatāras*, we must look, as we have said, at the life of Kṛṣṇa for it is here that the ramifications of *līlā* become clearest It is here also that the activity of God is spoken of as Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*[20] and the *līlā* of Bhagavān[21] and the references are clearly to the activities of Kṛṣṇa among the pastoral people of Gokula-Vṛndāvana It is the childhood and youthful play of Kṛṣṇa which enlivens the BhP vision of the activity of God as *līlā*. W G Archer, in *The Loves of Kṛishna*, points to a change that comes over Kṛṣṇa after his move to Mathurā

> All these incidents provide a clue to Krishna's nature They illustrate his attitudes, confirm him in his role as protector and preserver and show him in a new light—that of a guardian and upholder of morality He is still a fervent lover, but his love is sanctioned and formalized by legal marriage. Moreover, a new respect characterizes his dealings with Brahmans and his approach to festivals Instead of the young revolutionary, we now meet a sage conservative These changes colour his final career [22]

20 10 11 33, 10 45 1
21 10 30 14
22 W G Archer, *The Loves of Kṛishna in Indian Painting and Poetry* (London George Allen and Unwin, 1957), p 63.

Archer argues that the writer of BhP is happier with the later Krsna—and that he strives hard to bring the character of Krsna to be finally more in line with accepted moral patterns Walter Spink similarly pictures the writer breathing a sigh of relief when he finally moves from Vrndāvana to Mathurā

The evidence, however, is not so clear as Archer and Spink indicate The writer of BhP is certainly concerned about questions of morality or *dharma* and there is a wrestling with the moral problem of Krsna's relationship with the *gopīs* at the time when he joins with them in the *rāsalīlā* It is also true that the interest in the sexual phase of *līlā* with the *gopīs* is developed much more in later writings Nevertheless, the BhP develops very imaginatively the materials related to Krsna's childhood and youth, and these developments affect profoundly the more abstract ideas of *avatāra* and *līlā*

In BhP there are often short summaries of events that are told in extended form elsewhere in the purānas Often one can get some clues about which of the extended materials are most important for the BhP poet from looking closely at such summaries In 3.2, there is one such short account of the life of Krsna at Vraja The emphasis is largely on his childish playfulness Krsna played (*vyaharad*) while tending the calves in company with the cowherd boys (v 27), he displayed his childish activities for the inhabitants of Vraja (*kaumārīṃ darśayaṃś cestāṃ . . vrajaukasām*) (v 28), he amused himself playing his flute Also, (v. 30),

> Like a child his playthings (*krīdanakān*),
> he smashed with *līlā*
> the *asuras*
> who assumed different forms at will,
> having been commissioned by King Kamsa

There is also mention of the taming of Kāliya (vs 31-32), the raising of Govardhana (vs 32-33),[28] and Krsna enjoying himself (*reme*) with the *gopīs* (v 30).

See also Walter M Spink, *Krishnamandala a Devotional Theme in Indian Art* (Ann Arbor Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1971), p 92.

23 The people are protected by the mountain which is said to resemble a play-umbrella (*gotralīlātapatrena*).

Given the incidence of words denoting play in this summary section, we are not surprised to find that in the fuller account in the tenth book, the BhP poet delights in telling about the playful activity of the child Kṛsna and his older brother Balarāma Living in this pastoral setting, they delight the women of the village by hanging on the tails of the calves and being dragged around (10 8 24), by untying calves, by stealing curds and milk and butter (10 8 29) Not always is Kṛsna's activity mischi vous At times the emphasis is simply on the unaffected free activity of the little child—his dancing and singing, his tossing his arms about (10.11 8–9)

The styles of play change with time It begins by being something which takes place in the presence of the *gopīs*, and particularly of his foster-mother Yaśodā, as he plays in and around the house But then the scene shifts Kṛsna is old enough to go off with the other boys and he plays in company with them [24] Soon the move to Vrndāvana is made, and then in time they become cowherd boys whose task is to tend the calves (hence Rāma and Kṛsna are called *vatsapālau*) [25] Their play is of a different style.

> Sometimes playing on a flute,
> sometimes shooting with slings,
> sometimes stamping on the ground
> with feet adorned with little bells,
> sometimes pretending to be cows and bulls
> and imitating their cries,
> they fought one another [26]

Again and again the picture is presented of the idyllic life of the cowherd boys in Vrndāvana.

> Some played flutes
> other blew horns
> some sang with the black bees
> other hummed with the cuckoos
> They chased the shadows of a flock of birds
> and followed the wild geese,

24 10 11 12-13
25. 10 11 37
26. 10.11.39-40.

they stood still with the cranes,
and danced with the peacocks [27]

At this stage Krsna is surrounded by other cowherd boys as he had formerly been surrounded by the *gopīs* A new dimension is added to the story when it is revealed that these cowherd boys are really deities

For Krsna dancing
some sang,
and others
making music with flutes
and clapping hands
praised him.
The gods
who had disguised themselves
in being born as cowherds,
taking the form of cowherd boys,
gave praise to Krsna and Rāma—
like actors applauding the leading actor.[28]

Later, the scene shifts again, and Krsna is surrounded once more by *gopīs* The play takes on a sexual aspect as Krsna steals their clothes while they bathe in the Yamunā, and dances with them the *rāsalīlā*, by the light of the autumn moon In the course of the account of the *rāsalīlā* there is yet another listing of the activities of Krsna—and they are called *līlās* The context in which it occurs is this Krsna disappears from the *gopīs*, and in their anguish they begin to imitate his *līlās*. The events which they imitate are Krsna's sucking the breast of Pūtanā, his overturning and shattering of the cart, his being carried off by the demon Trinivarta, his slaying of the *asuras* Vatsa and Baka, his playing the flute while others around him say, "Well done !", his charming walk (*lalitām gatim*), his taming of Kāliya, his quenching of a forest fire, his being tied up by Yasodā after he had stolen butter [29]

Some of these features clearly have to do with childish play and pranks. Others, however, appear to be related more to the ideal of the military hero—the protector Lord who continually slays

27. 10.12 7-8
28 10 18 10-11
29. 10.30.15-23

demonic, troublesome creatures. It is difficult at first sight to understand how these can be thought of as *līlā*. Yet when we look at the detailed accounts of some of these we find that the writer has included the idea of *līlā* in the accounts.

As noted, *līlā* is used in 3 2 in connection with the defeat of *asuras*, and the raising of Govardhana In the detailed account of the raising of Govardhana, *līlā* is used again and again. Krsna's action is a response to the plea of his cowherd friends for protection from the wrath of Indra, which is manifesting itself in a massive tropical thunderstorm Krsna is at the time a child of seven. His action is likened to the activity of a child at play

"This is my firm resolve"
He said this
Then, taking Govardhana with one hand
Krsna held it up with *līlā*
as a little child
holds up an umbrella [30]

When the storm is eventually over, Krsna replaces the mountain "with *līlā*" [31] In the following chapter the cowherds give expression to the amazement and fear which they feel at witnessing such a remarkable event

"How could this seven-year-old
hold up with *līlā*,
in one hand,
the foremost of mountains—
like the king of elephants
holding a lotus ?"[32]

And the story concludes with a reiteration of this theme [33]

The image of the child playing with the umbrella obviously attracted our poet No doubt this is because it is so germane with the characteristic ideas he is trying to express Krsna is a child at play with all the artlessness and joyousness characteristic of the child Like a child playing at being king, Krsna holds up as an

30 10 25 19
31 10 25 28
32 10 26.3.
33. 10 26 25

umbrella this mountain which is able to shelter all the inhabitants of Vrndāvana, human and bovine

Part of the point of the use of *līlā* then is that the raising of Govardhana is 'child's play' to Kṛsna. And this appears to be a hidden agenda in much of the use of *līlā* in accounts of the Lord's heroic acts (*vikramalīlā* as they are called in 9 24 64). These draw upon a motif that can be seen in other stories about Krsna when Yaśodā looks into Krsna's mouth after he has been stuffing it with earth and sees there the entire universe, when she tries to tie him down with rope in order to curb his mischievous acts, that no amount of rope will hold him, when the baby Krsna smashes a cart under which he has been placed by kicking it with his feet, when he, bearing all the worlds within him, dances upon the heads of the snake Kāliya It each case a contrast is drawn between the smallness of the child and his greatness and power as Lord of the universe

In order to appreciate how this contrast works in BhP it is necessary to look at *līlā* from another angle

One of the first things one notices as one reads of the *līlā* of Krsna is that there are always people around him and they are responding to him emotionally He charms them, delights them, gives them pleasure The *gopīs* laugh at his pranks and all the people of the village are full of joy The responses pictured are what one would expect of any mother or father on beholding the infectious playful activity of his or her child The remarkable point here is that we find a crowd of people all attracted to Kṛṣṇa in a similar fashion all seem to respond to Krsna as if he were *their* son One even begins to suspect that the cowherds and *gopīs* love Krsna more than they love their own children and such an idea is given direct expression in the story of the hiding of the calves and the young boys who tend them This is done by the god Brahmā who shuts them up in a mountain because he hopes to see some charming marvel performed by Krsna And Krsna obliges For a whole year by means of his *māyā* he carried out a most marvelous deception creating a whole series of replicas of boys and calves. There is a description of the affection of mothers for children and cows for calves and it is rendered in poignant fashion in the picture of milk oozing from breasts and udders.

Moreover

> The affection of the inhabitants of Vraja
> towards their children
> throughout the year
> gradually increased beyond measure
> becoming as it had been solely
> towards Kṛsna [34]

Joy and delight, love and affection comprise one style of response towards the child Krsna There is, however, another style which ranges through wonder and amazement to agitation and fear. It is evident in a number of episodes we have mentioned Kṛsṇa's smashing the cart, Yasodā's attempt to tie him down with rope, his holding aloft of the hill Govardhana In general it is the heroic deeds, the manifestation of the powerful Lord of the universe, which lead to a response of amazement or fear.

Frequently it is suggested that this fear or amazement is due to ignorance on the part of the cowherds and the *gopīs*—they do not realize who Krsna is [35]

It might thus appear that amazement is a lower level response to Krsna's activity, a natural response of the ignorant in the face of the remarkable and startling deeds of the divine child Yet knowing does not necessarily reduce amazement and fear as one can see from the experience of Yasodā, when she sees in Krsna's mouth the entire universe. Yasodā's response to this magnificent and intense vision is to shake with terror, and then to worship the Lord who has for a moment lifted the veil of *māyā* Yet soon the Lord envelops her again in *māyā* which is "of the nature of affection for her son" [36] In this case fear is the result of knowing, and love, no less authentic a response to the *līlā* of Krsna, a result of her ignorance.

Whether the people in Gokula-Vrndāvana know who Krsna is, is unclear in BhP. At times there are suggestions that they do not. And, gradually one comes to realize that whether they know

34 10 13 26
35. See for example 10.7 10.
36 See 10 9 17-19

or not is irrelevant. The important thing is that they respond to him in delight and love, in awe and wonder.[37]

What we see then is an interplay between the *līlā* of God in the forms of child and youth and the response which this *līlā* calls forth in his devotees. And the devotional aspect is further underlined by the fact that both amazement and love can lead into a recounting of the tales of Krsna (10.11.58) or singing songs about the *Krsnalīlā* (10.11.33, 10.25.33). Not only do *gopīs* and cowherd boys join in such acts of devotion, even heavenly beings—*devas, sadhyas, siddhas, gandharvas, cāraṇas*—praise Krsna, showering him with flowers. Sometimes, however, the songs are the product of *duhkha*, the pain of separation from Krsna. For all to see his play arouses affection and delight, a logical extension is that to be with him is the source of greatest joy, to be absent from him the source of deepest anguish.

> "When they were separated from him,
> a moment was
> like a hundred *yugas*."[38]

Separation does not have, however, a merely negative connotation. When Krsna disappeared from the *gopīs* just before he danced the *rāsalīlā* with them, they engaged in a frenzied search for him. The intensity of their love was so great that they sang songs about him, and acted out the great events of his life, his *līlās*. When Krsna returned he explained to them that he refrained from being attached to his friends who are attached to him, in order to maintain the intensity of their attachment.[39] We find, therefore, a continual interplay between Krsna's being with the *gopīs* (when they are caught up in the ecstasy of seeing his play,

37 It is important to see here that the response of those around the child Krsna is an extension of the natural response of parents—and in the Indian context of the raising of children within an extended family, this may include a number of parental figures—towards the delightful and amazing play of their children. What parent has not spent hours chuckling at childish pranks? What parent has not had that vision of all the worlds encompassed in the mouth or the whorl of an ear or the finger-dance of his/her child?

38 10.19.15-16.

39 10.32.20.

looking at his beautiful form, touching his hands and his feet), and his absence from them (when they are caught up in a similar tough painful intensity in which they recreate his presence, as it were, by meditating on him, singing songs about his *līlā*, acting out his *līlā*)

Two motifs intimately tied to this aspect of a special relationship between the *gopīs* and Krsna, and worthy of attention as aspects of his *līlā* are Krsna's flute and the *rāsalīlā*.

The flute is often there in accounts of Krsna's play with the cowherd boys[40] but it is used most powerfully in relation to the *gopīs* It is the sound of the flute which is the first sign to the *gopīs* who have been pining for him all day while he has been away minding the cattle, that the boy Krsna is returning. They rush out to meet him

Krsna with eyes like lotus petals—
the reciting and hearing of whose deeds is meritorious—
being praised by the cowherds following him,
entering Vraja
along with his elder brother
His looks were dusty with cowdust,
he was decorated with wild flowers and peacocks feathers
and with beautiful glances and endearing smiles,
and he played on his flute
as his praises were sung by his followers
The *gopīs*, their eyes longing to see him,
ran out to meet him.
Having drunk, with their eyes
resembling black bees,
the honey of the lotus-like face of Mukunda,
the women of Vraja
gave up their anguish (*tāpam*)
born of separation [41]

But if the flute is significant as the first sign of Krsna's presence, a presence they cannot resist, it is soon the flute itself which is irresistible As with the other *līlā* of Krsna, the playing of the flute arouses in creatures wonder, love, infatuation. Peacocks,

40 10 15 2
41 10 15 41-43a.

dance, goddesses lose all self-respect, cows stand caressing Krsna in their minds, their eyes flowing with tears All creatures are delighted, captivated by the sound of the flute This, at least, is the way the *gopīs* see it For the two occasions when the theme of the flute is presented with greatest poignancy are in *adhyāyas* 21 and 35, and in both cases it is a part of the intense contemplation by the *gopīs* of the *līla* of the absent Krsna

The sound of the flute also arouses the desire of the *gopīs* for Krsna It is clear that the love is of an erotic style (10 21 3-4)

> Then the women of Vraja
> heard the song of his flute (*venugītām*)
> arousing desire [42]
> And some in Krsna's absence
> related his exploits to their friends
> Calling to remembrance
> the activity of Krsna,
> they attempted to describe it
> but were not able
> For their minds, O king,
> were distracted
> by the intensity of their desire ...

The flute is a powerful motif in BhP because it becomes a symbolic focus of the modes in which the Krsnalilā work

The *rāsalīlā* or *rāsakrīda*[43] is usually regarded as the climax or culmination of all the *līlā* of Krsna in Vrndāvana There is good reason for thinking this, for it brings together many of the aspects we have seen associated with *līlā*

At the beginning of the story, the song of Krsna, or perhaps of Krsna's flute, which arouses desire (*kāma*) for him, draws the women to him BhP dwells upon the suddenness with which they leave their homes and families—everything which is normally important to them—in order to be with him The intensity of their desire is

42. The word translated 'desire' is *smara*, an epithet used as a name of Kāma, the god of love or desire In 10 35 3 the views of the sky-roaming deities are also pictured as having 'their minds pierced by the arrow of Kāma (*kāmamārganasamarpitacittāh*)

43. 10 29.33

emphasized by Kṛṣṇa's telling them to go back to their homes again. Their rejection by him brings them to grief and anger, and also to a reiteration of their intense desire kindled by the sight of him. And although King Parikṣit intimates that the *gopes* perceive Kṛṣṇa as a lover (*kānta*) not as Brahman,[44] yet they say to Kṛṣṇa,

> You, O Lord, (*Īśe*)
> are the most beloved,
> the friend and Self (*ātman*)
> of embodied beings.[45]

They refer to themselves as devotees, and continually they mention the feet of Kṛṣṇa which are in BhP a powerful focus of the devotee's attention.

But then the theme of separation is introduced. Their desire is increased in intensity when Kṛṣṇa disappears from them. In his absence, they spend a great deal of time looking for him. As they search frantically, they talk incessantly about Kṛṣṇa's beautiful form and lotus feet and about the beauties of his flute.

The climax of events is in the *rāsa krīḍa* itself. Here Kṛṣṇa dances with the women in a circle dance, and by means of his *yogamāyā* he increases the number of his forms so that each of the women is aware that she is dancing with Kṛṣṇa. Later he plays with them in the Yamunā and then wanders on the river bank.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of this *līlā* is the sexual component. In much of the earlier *līlā*, this is not so obvious, though increasingly throughout the BhP account of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa one becomes aware of a sexual aspect. A major precursor of the *rāsa* dance is the hiding of the clothes of the young *gopīs* when they are bathing in the Yamunā River. The attitude of the wives of the Brahmans towards him seems very similar. At the stage of the *rāsa* dance, however, the sexual aspect becomes quite overt to the extent that King Parikṣit is troubled by it. If the Blessed Lord descended with a part of himself (*aṁśena*) for the establishment of *dharma*, and for the suppression of *adharma*, how, he wonders, does he act so adharmically?[46] The answer is given in two parts. The first is

44. 10 29 15.
45. 20 30 22
46. 10 33 30.

that gods do deviate from the path of virtue (*dharma-vyatikramaḥ*) Yet for them it is not sin, as devouring everything is not a sin for fire That is, there are some beings who transcend the whole *dharma-adharma* complex So, (10 33.34),

> How much less will he
> the Lord of all beings—
> of animals, mortals, and divine beings,
> of all that are to be ruled over—
> conform to what is proper or improper

The Lord of *māyā*, he transcends *māyā*, the Lord of *dharma*, he transcends consideration of *dharma* It is clear that the question of sexual morality hardly applies to the One who indwells the *gopīs* and their husbands—and indeed all embodied beings The second part of the answer takes us into a different set of ideas (10 33 37)

> In order to show grace to all creatures,
> having assumed a human body
> he engages in such playful activity
> He who listens to accounts of this play
> becomes his devotee

Kṛsna's erotic play with the *gopīs*, like that of other *līlās*, has no selfish motive in it, for he is self-fulfilled His descent is motivated by his desire to manifest his grace Central to understanding this activity is the realization that this play calls forth in those who see it and experience it, fear, wonder, joy, pleasure, affection, desire—all forms of attachment to Kṛsna

There are later Indian writers who develop from these accounts a definite gradation of relationships with Kṛsna, from that of a servant through to that of a lover Nothing so define can be seen in BhP Nevertheless, Kṛsna is pictured as utilizing and redirecting the natural affections of human beings in order to draw people to him It is particularly the natural affections of women—of a mother to her child, of a girl to her lover—that Kṛsna manipulates That is not to say that there is exclusive concentration on the women, for all of the inhabitants of Vraja are witness to the playfulness and beauty of Kṛsna The young friends of Kṛsna certainly derive great joy from being with him. But it is the women who are infatuated by the infant, the toddler, the cowherd boy, the young

adolescent It is they in whom one sees the deepest and most intense attachment and joy And there is a perceptive awareness of the twofold direction of female sexuality—towards the child and towards the lover—and of the continuity between these It is the deep emotions which are associated with these basic sexual drives that are evoked by the Lord as playful child and playful youth.

There is perhaps in BhP gradation of a different kind, noticeable when one compares the earlier *avatāras* with the Kṛsna *līlā*. One is hardly aware of devotees surrounding these earlier *līlās*, occasionally the gods are there, but we become aware of them only when they engage, say, in a final hymn of praise to Bhagavān

In BhP there is a massive interest in the activity of Kṛsna as *līlā* and in human response to it This interest flows over to the other *avatāras* so that they too are seen as *līlā*, and this new vision results in the concept of *līlāvatāra* The idea of play continues to be used in relation to the process of the creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe, and the concept occurs so frequently that it seems almost impossible that the cosmic process is not being imbued with the joyous spontaneity of the Lord Nevertheless, as the play of God it is clearly in the background *līlāvatāra* does *not* refer to God's activity in the cosmic process Again, that Bhagavān is Lord of all, the one who is responsible for the cosmic process, is a backdrop to all other aspects of his *līlā*, for in part the enchantment of the play of the child Kṛsna, its remarkable effect on us, is achieved through our encounter with his power as cosmic Lord

But the central interest of the BhP poet is in bringing the devotee to see the enchanting play of the *līlāvatāras* and above all in unveiling the Krsna-*līlā*, that play in which Bhagavān draws all to himself in devotion

POPULAR LIFE AND BELIEFS AS REFLECTED IN THE PURĀNA-S

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन पुराणेषु वर्णिताना सामान्यजीवन-सबन्धिविविधधारणाना विवरण प्रदत्तम् । पुराणेषु प्रचलितपञ्चविषयाणामतिरिक्तं नानाविधा अन्येऽपि विषया वर्णिता सन्ति । तेषु भैषज्य-अभिचार-वण्डनीति-वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थादिविषया प्राधान्येन सन्ति । अत्र लेखकेन एतादृशानेकविषयाणा परिचयस्तत्तत्पुराण-निर्देशपूर्वक प्रदत्त ।]

The Purānas are encyclopaedic in character. Besides the traditional five topics, they deal with a number of other subjects like architecture, sculpture, music, painting, astronomy etc They are not divorced from the realities of life so that quite a lot of popular beliefs and practices are referred to in these works We shall briefly set forth below some such beliefs and practices.

Goblins are supposed to reside in an empty house, delivery house and cemetery (*Vāyu* 69.271)

Agni purāna 315 contains *abhicāra* or black magic like causing paralysis, delusion, control, uprooting from one's residence, killing etc A few specimens are given here After drawing the figure of tortoise on a birch-leaf, one should place certain *mantras* on its face or legs On its back there should be the name of the enemy Then sprinkling water and remembering the enemy's name the ground is to be struck by the left foot This will ensure paralysis of the enemy The death of the enemy is sure if the enemy's name is written on a birch-leaf and worshipped with the *mantra* '*Om Kuñjarī brahmāṇī*' in a cemetery

The same Purāna mentions (1 40) some herbs etc of strange potency designed to activate *mantras* Various processes are mentioned for acquiring skill in snake-charming, safe delivery of children, acquisition of a son etc

It refers to some *mantras* for various purposes It was believed that a diagram named *Śakti-cakra* enabled one to know the evil in-

fluence of Saturn. The wearing of a talisman, with a special *mantra*, in the hand or neck was believed to baffle even the stroke of a missile

The *Viṣnudharmottara* and *Matsya* (243) state that the trembling, dance smile and weeping of a god's image is very inauspicious.

The *Matsya* (228) and *Agni* (263-78 etc) mention pacificatory rites for pacifying angry planets and protection against various dangers The rite, called *Saumya*, was believed to cure consumption

At some places, we find traces of non-Aryan influence on certain matter in the Aryan society One such instance is the *Śaśarotsava* on the Dasamī day of Durgāpūjā. Some Smṛti Digests, on the authority of the *Kālikā purāṇa*, hold that it consists in mud slinging at one another and, with the body covered by creepers and leaves, abusing mutually in filthy language

Among the crimes, prevailing in the Purāṇic society, are the beating of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra, theft, homicide, sexual relation between a man of a lower caste and a woman of a higher one, destruction of a house, destruction of a grazing field, administering poison, seduction of queen etc.

For certain offences the limb concerned of the offender used to be cut off, e g Śūdras beating a Kṣatriya, perjury, sale of impure meat, making counterfeit coins, spreading treason, beating the spiritual preceptor, cutting off limbs of a dead body.

In special cases, life imprisonment was ordained, e g Śūdra beating a Brāhmaṇa. A month imprisonment was ordained for stealing the rope or pot from a well meant for the public, turning the current of water on a wrong course and for cruelty towards animals It was a punishable offence to help a prisoner in escaping.

The position of Śūdras and other low class people deserves notice It is generally stated that they are dependent on the three higher castes At some places (e g *Vāyu* 8 163-71) their occupation is stated to be labour and craft By dint of merit and power they could rise to an exalted position For example, Mahāpadma, born of a Śūdrā, came to be a ruler. At one time, Śūdras acquired the status of Vaiśyas (*Vāyu* 57 51-53) The social status described in connexion with Kaliyuga is miserable In the *Bhaviṣya* (44 32,

Śūdras are divided into *Sat* and *Asat* The former used to live by honest means, refrained from drinks and meat From the *Vāyu* (86 1-12) Śūdras appear to have eaten beef A mixed caste, called Ajīva, is mentioned in *Vāyu* 69 281-8

Dasyus, distinct from Śūdras, are stated to have robbed people of clothes and cattles Mlecchas also are mentioned

The prevalence of slavery and trading in slaves are referred to (e g *Vāyu* 88 85-9)

There are many references to premarital sexual union, illigitimate children etc The seduction of his preceptor's wife, Tārā, by Soma, the birth of Purūravas from the illegal union of Budha and Ilā, birth of Bharadvāja from the union of Brhaspati and his sister-in-law, these indicate moral laxity

The Purānas contain many references to music, vocal and instrumental, and dance

The Purānas refer to food and dress of the people of that age. Besides *Surā*, the common drink, there is mention of *Kaśya* It is said that Kasyapa is so called as he drank this wine

Long hair and dishavelled beard appear to have been objects of contempt Piśācas are described as having long hair and staggy beard (*Vāyu* 69 273)

The Purānas give us a picture of the economic life of the people The Purānic society betrays a miserable economic condition of the sacerdotal class This is not unnatural With the growing popularity of Buddhism people in large number embraced that religion The result was decline in the income of the priests Therefore, they devised many *vratas* which held out prosperity and happiness in this world and beyond It was ordained that liberal gifts in *vratas*, including such daily necessities as rice, salt, umbrella, sandal etc, were conducive to great merit

Regarding taxation, one-sixth of the autumnal crop and one-eighth of the crop of the rainy season were fixed as revenue (*Agni* 223 26-27, *Visnudharmottara* 2 61 60-61) Of rural fruits, flowers and fuel etc a portion called *bhoga* was the king's due

On commercial commodities two kinds of tax were levied, one on indigenous and foreign goods and the other as ferry charge

On indigenous goods the rate of tax was one-twentieth (*Agni* 223. 23, *Visnudharmottara* 2 61.53-56) One-fifth was levied on animals One-sixth was the rate with respect to gold, perfumes, medicinal herbs, liquid substances, root-fruits, flowers, leaves, vegetables, grass, bamboo, things made of bamboo, earthen vessels, stone, honey, meat, ghee etc (*Agni* 223.27-29) On labourers the rate was one day's work gratis for the king, this was in respect of skilled labourers Those who lived by physical labour had to work without wages so long as they got food. Besides Brāhmaṇas, women and sages were exempted from taxes (*Agni* 223 25).

The king used, in some cases, to lend money to people at easy interest (*Agni* 253.66).

INDRA IN THE VISNU PURĀNA*

By

SHRINRYU OKUDA

[जापानीभाषातोऽनूदितेऽस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन विष्णुमहापुराणे इन्द्रस्य स्वरूपस्थानमहत्त्वादिकविषयाणा विवेचन प्रस्तुतम् । इन्द्रस्य वैदिकसाहित्ये सर्वातिशायि महत्त्व वर्तते किन्तु शनैः शनै विष्णुना सवातिशायि महत्त्वं प्राप्तम् । पुराणेषु इन्द्रस्याभ्यर्हितत्वं लुप्त जातम् तस्यस्थाने उपेन्द्रो विष्णु पूज्यतमो बभूव । अत्र लेखकेन विष्णु-पुराणस्थानेकाख्यानानाम् आधारेण एतत् प्रतिपादितम् ।]

In the Rgveda, Indra is described as the storm god and the ideal warrier He is one of the main objects of people's prayer and admiration During the Brāhmana period, when the ritualistic tendency became more pronounced Indra's position was passed on to Prajāpati and then to Brahmā In the course of time, people began to pursue the new Absolute who could bestow them the Supreme Peace, as well as satisfy their worldly desires, the highest of which was to be born in Heaven In the Epics, Visnu and Śiva, the two new Absolute, affect the pantheon of the ancient gods, Brahmā, Agni, Yama, Indra etc [1] In the purāna-s and similar literature, this religious tendency grows even stronger Thus Indra offers a good example of the common law that the pantheon is inevitably affected when the social and religious background changes

The Visnu purāna, as evident from its name, is a work of the Vaisnava sect. As it is comparatively faithful to the so-called five purānic characteristics, it is considered one of the earliest purāna-s. Its main topic is, of course, the worship of Visnu But along with that, the importance of asceticism and the practice of yoga, the respect of dharma, the worship of Krsna and other topics are also in-

* Appeared in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Tokyo, vol XXVI, No 1 (Dec 1977), pp 397-400 Translated into English from Japanese by Hisayoshi Miyamoto, Senior Research Scholar in Indian Philosophy, Varanasi.

1. See E W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 77.

troduced All these subjects are reflected, of course, in the episodes in which India appears

In this article, putting aside the worship of Viṣṇu, I will gather together and introduce the stories in which Indra appears, in order to confirm the aforesaid principle India is described in these episodes as intent on defending his throne, he always plays a humiliating role But at the same time he also gets respect as king of the three worlds (triloka), the supreme status of the saṃsāra-loka It seems to me that the introduction of Indra into these topics, who is commonly acknowledged to have the highest position in three worlds, shows the intention to authorize their importance

First, we note India's *fear and powerlessness before ascetics or yogins V P I 9* describes the curse pronounced by the sage Durvāsas, this constitutes the introduction of the myth of churning of the ocean Having offended the sage Durvāsas who is practising the vow of insanity (unmattavrata), Indra is deserted by prosperity (śrī) and is cursed to perish along with the three worlds [2] The gods are defeated by the Daityas

In *V P I 11*, Indra hinders Dhruva's asceticism or yoga practice [3] This episode appears in the story of Dhruva, who achieves the position of Polestar, as he has satisfied Viṣṇu In this story Indra hinders Dhruva in many ways, through his māyā, but without any success On the contrary, he is burnt by Dhruva's ascetic heat and asks Viṣṇu for help

In *V. P I 15*, seeing the sage Kuṇḍu's asceticism, Indra sends the apsaras Pramlocā to hinder the achievement of his asceticism.[4]

2 According to Wilson, this episode of the curse is not described in the Matsya-purāṇa, the Harivaṃśa or in texts earlier than these See H H Wilson, *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1961, p 66, fn 8

3. In the Mahābhārata, Dhruva is the Polestar, one of the Vasu-s, also called Auttānapāda Such a myth, however, is not available in the Mbh See Hokins, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 183 etc

4 This episode is the introduction to the myth of the birth of Maṛīsā, Pracetas's wife and Dakṣa Prajāpati's mother. In the Mbh and Rāmāya ṇa there is an episode in which Indra, for fear of asceticism, sends apsarases to Dadhīca Viśvāmitra, Śaradvat Gautama etc. See Hopkins, *op cit.*, p 138.

In *V P IV. 7.4*, realizing that King Kuśāśva has been practising asceticism to get a son like Indra, Indra, for fear, becomes Gādhi Kauśika, King Kuśāśva's son himself

In *V P I* 21 29*ff*, in the episode describing the origin of the Maruts' name (mā rodīh), it is narrated that Indra could enter Diti's womb, as her asceticism, undertaken to keep her body pure for 100 years, had been broken [5]

From these episodes one can see how asceticism or yoga practice is highly valued Asceticism or yoga practice is one of the best means to get the supernatural power and to admire gods, and consequently to get boons When this asceticism or yoga practice is turned toward Viṣnu, then naturally the mundane desires and even final liberation can be achieved So such episodes are found in many places of the Viṣnu purāna [6]

Next, Indra's *battle against the demons.* This is a main theme since olden times, but in the V P it always brings disgrace on Indra, as in the myth of churning of the ocean, also in *V. P II 7*, where Indra, having been defeated by the demons, asks Viṣnu for help Here the episode is thus described King Purañjaya, who is Viṣnu's part-incarnation, sits on the hump (kakud) of the ox-shaped Indra and destroys the demon Therefore that Purañjaya gets another name, Kakutstha

In *V P IV 9*, too, a battle against the demons is described, but, it is interesting to point out, that Viṣnu does not appear here At the time of battle, gods and demons consult Brahmā and Brahmā announces that the victory will fall to the side which is allied with King Raji King Raji imposes a condition that, after having won the battle, he should become king of that victorious party The demons tell King Raji that since this is the battle for their King

5. This episode is not available in the Mbh., but in the Rām and the HV See Hopkins, *op cit.*, pp 134, 96

6. In the Mbh, too, asceticism is a means of receiving divine benefits See Hopkins, *op cit*, p. 68 In the myth of Dhruva, the seven sages, including Marīci, teach that, by satisfying Viṣnu, one can achieve not only the position of Indra but also final liberation and the yoga practice is a way of praising Viṣnu The ascetic's supernatural power is seen in the episode of the sage Saubhari, V P IV. 2 etc The yoga practice is explained in detail in V P VI. 7

Prahlāda, they cannot accept such a condition, and they don't want to say one thing and do another in any form (na vayam anyathā vadisyāmo' nyathā karisyāmah) Then they leave Meanwhile, the gods accept Raji's condition and win the battle through his help But Indra, by means of tricks, becomes King Raji's son and keeps the throne. After the death of King Raji, his real sons request the throne according to the custom (ācāra) Confronted with Indra's rejection, they have a battle with him and obtain the throne Having seen India's miserable condition, the priest Brhaspati performs a ritual which perplexes the intelligence of Raji's sons and also increases Indra's energy Because of this King Raji's sons began to oppose the Brahmins (brahmadvisah), to abandon the law (dharmatyāginah), and to run counter to the doctrine of the Veda-s (vedavādaparānmukhāh) Indra, then, could destroy such people as they had turned their faces away from law and custom and in such a way he restored his throne In this episode, we can understand that the law is the key issue of the battle

A similar attitude toward law is also seen in the myth of Visnu's Māyāmoha incarnation, described in *V P III* 17[7], although in this case Indra does not appear directly In the battle between the gods and the demons, the gods were defeated. The reason for this defeat is that the demons observed their own caste laws (svavarna-dharmābhiratāh), followed the Vedas' tenets (vedamārgānusārinah), and pursued asceticism (tapasānvitāh) Māyāmoha, then, preached heterodoxy to them, and thereby caused the abandonment of the true law and custom The law of castes, the law of āsrama-s etc are described in detail from *V P III* 8.[8] We can say that the ancient Indian way of thinking toward the law is reflected in these episodes

The next noticeable episode in which Indra appears is about his *rivalry with Krsna* In *V P V*. 10*ff*, Krsna prohibits people from worshipping Indra and makes them worship the cow and the mountain Govardhana instead Indra is enraged at this and sends a storm,

7 This episode refers to Jainism and Buddhism Visnu's incarnation as Buddha is mentioned in Bhāgavata purāna I 3 25 and XI 4 22, and further, heterodoxy is attributed to Indra in IV 19ff

8. In the introduction of this part it is said that respect for the law is a way of worshipping Visnu.

but Krsna protects the cattle and people, so Indra is defeated Then Indra meets Krsna secretly and praises him for his strength and gives him the title of Upendra and Govinda.

In *V. P V.* 30*ff*, the battle for the Pārijāta tree is described. At Indra's request, Krsna destroys Bhauma Naraka and recovers Aditi's earrings When he goes to heaven with his wife, Satyabhāmā, to hand the earrings over to Aditi, he receives a welcome. Seeing the Pārijāta tree in Indra's garden, Satyabhāmā asks Krsna to take it home But as Indra prevents Krsna from taking it, a war breaks out between Krsna and the gods who were led by Indra. Krsna defeats all the gods and wards off even Indra's vajra At this Indra says that he is not ashamed of having been defeated by Krsna who is God himself and praises him On the other hand Krsna asks for forgiveness as he, just a mere man, opposed Indra, the king of gods, and wants to return the Pārijāta tree and the vajra Indra accepts only the vajra and offers Krsna the Pārijāta tree [9]

In these two episodes we can see the same pattern Krsna's rivalry with Indra—Indra's counteroffensive—Indra's defeat—ratification by Indra that Krsna is Visnu and vice versa. This pattern certainly indicates the process of introducing Krsna worship into Visnu worship But it is interesting to note how in the V. P.—as we have seen above—Krsna apologizes for having opposed Indra We think that such humble submission is unsuitable to the character of the Visnupurāna This seems to indicate that at least this part of the Visnupurāna was composed in the early stages of the process of the introduction The title of 'Upendra' given by Indra may give another clue to this since it may be considered to mean a minor or inferior Indra.[10]

We have thus gathered and presented here the episodes in which Indra appears They can be grouped, as we have seen, from

9 In the Bhāg P (X 59) it is briefly described how Krsna took it by force This is also mentioned in Mbh (B O R I) V 128 48, VII 10 22-23. See Wilson, *op. cit*, p. 464, fn 1 In HV (B O R I), 92 this rivalry is not described

10 See Wilson, *op cit*, p. 421, fn 2. In the Bhāg P only the title Govinda is mentioned. See Hopkins, *op. cit*, p 204,210

three points of view It is evident, in fact, that besides Viṣnu worship these episodes are connected with the importance of asceticism, yoga practice and law, and with Kṛsna worship All these elements are means both of achieving mundane desires and of getting final liberation Indra, who stays at the supreme stage of the saṃsāra loka, is the living symbol of mundane happiness So, when the ultimate goal of life is final liberation, Indra's relatively lower position is inevitable [11]

NOTE

Text used Viṣnupurāna with Commentary of Śrīdharaswāmi, Calcutta, 1882. (Abbreviation V. P)

Reference book, not mentioned in this article, but helpful : J. Gonda, *A Note on Indra in Purānic Literatures*, *Selected Studies*, Vol. IV, Leiden. 1975

11 In V. P II 6 we can even read the following passages · "To be born in the world of gods is a symptom of rebirth", "As long as the residents of the world of gods are alive, the residents of the hell will not perish" and again "To obtain the position of Indra is an obstacle for the man desiring to get final liberation "

PURĀNIC PARAMPARĀ*

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे पुराणेषु निर्दिष्टाना पौराणिकपरम्पराणा विमर्श कृत । पुराणेषु तत्तत्पुराणाना वक्तृश्रोतृपरम्पराया निर्देशो वर्तते । अस्मिन् क्रमे पुराणेषु अवस्थात्रय वर्तते । प्रथमावस्थाया पुराणस्य परम्परायां कोऽपि देवो वर्तते तदनन्तर कोऽपि ऋषिस्तदनन्तर व्यास सूत्रक्रमो भवति । किन्तु इदमवस्थात्रय सर्वेषु पुराणेषु न वर्तते । कासुचित् परम्परासु देवाभाव , कासुचित्परम्परासु च ऋषेरभाव । अत्र लेखकेन एतत् सर्व सप्रमाण विवेचितम् ।]

Almost all the purāna-s contain a list of gods, ṛsi-s, muni-s etc through which they justify their origin and passing on the tradition through the centuries *Padma P* V 2 53 cd includes such concept of handing over or *paramparā* in the etymology itself (*nirukti*) of the word 'purāna'

पुरापरम्परा वष्टि पुराण तेन तत् स्मृतम् ।

'"Purāna" is so called because it is concerned with the handing over of the past (*purā*).'

So, in some cases at least, tradition can become an important element for understanding the nature of the purāna-s

The problem we want to face here can be put in a simple way Who did first narrate the purāna-s according to the purāna s themselves and who did hand them over in course of time ? Even if we are not inclined to give credit to the purānic statement—it is not our concern here at present— yet they are worth studying, they seem, indeed, to contain valid material for further research

The first immediate traditional answer which can be given to the above problem is found in such purānic statements like the one available in *Matsya P* 53 70 ab, for instance

* Editions of the purāna-s used in this article

Agni (ASS), *Kūrma* (Crit Ed), *Garuda* (Jīvānanda), *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Mor Ed), *Nārada* (Venk), *Padma* (ASS), *Brahma* (Mor Ed), *Brahmānda* (Venk), *Brahmavaivarta* (ASS), *Bhaviṣya* (Venk), *Bhāgavata* (Gītā Press); *Matsya* (Jīvānanda), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (Jīvānanda), *Liṅga* (Mor Ed), *Vāyu* (Venk), *Viṣnu* (Gītā Press), *Skanda* (Venk), *Śiva* (Venk).

अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।

'Satyavatī's son (Krsna Dvaipāyana) after composing the eighteen purāna-s. .'

in *Brahmavaivarta P* II. 5 26 ab

तदा वेदविभागञ्च पुराणानि चकार ह ।

'Then he (Krsna Dvaipāyana) divided the veda-s and compos ed the purāna-s etc. .

or in *Devī Bhāgavata P.* I 1.3 अष्टादश पुराणानि कृष्णेन मुनिनाऽनघ "O faultless, the eighteen purāna s (were composed) by the muni Krsna".

The purāna-s, indeed, are traditionally conceived as Krsna Dvaipāyana's products.[1] I have already examined this point in another issue of this same Bulletin[2] and I have come to the conclusion that the statements about Vyāsa's authorship of the purāna-s are part of a larger attempt made by purānic authors to fix a purānic canon and in that light they have to be considered here also Now I add that those very texts which attribute such an authorship to Vyāsa contain also other elements which should be carefully investigated. The first element to be considered is the purānic claim that even before Vyāsa the purāna-s were narrated by Brahmā to the *munī*-s

1 See Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Purāna Vimarśa*, Chowkhamba Vidyābhavan, Vārānasī, 1965, pp 63ff, Giridhar Śarma Caturvedī, *Purāna Pariśīlan*, Bihār Rāstrabhāsā Parisad, Patna, 1970, pp 63 ff Krishnamani Tripathi, *Purāna Paryālocanam* (Gaveshātmako Bhāgah), Vārānasī, 1976, pp 80f

विभज्य वेद च तदर्थजात चक्रे परामृश्य पुनः पुराणम् ।
तदीयमर्थं च विकृष्य चक्रे यो भारत तत्र मनो ममास्ताम् ॥

(Jagadīsacakravartīkrtā Mahābhāratatīkā Sabhāparva, Asiatic Society Catalogue, Calcutta, v 3404, quoted in V Raghavan, *Homages to Vyāsa*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Vārānasī, 1963, p 13) Verses with similar meaning are common among pandits and people

2 See The Dynamic Canon of the Purāna-s in *Purāna*, Vārānasī, Vol XXI, No 2 (July, 1979), pp. 116-166

पुराणमेकमेवासीदस्मिन् कल्पान्तरे नृप ॥ 24 cd
स्मृत्वा जगाद च मुनीन् प्रति देवश्चतुर्मुखः ॥ 25 ab
(*Skanda P* V 3 1 24 cd–25 ab)[3]

'The purāna was one during this kalpa, O king, the four-faced god remembered and sang it before the muni-s'

So even before Vyāsa intervened to narrate his purāna, Brahmā had already sung it to the muni-s. In fact the position of the purāna-s about their first recitation and handing over is rather complex Each purāna is careful to name the sources of a specific *kathā* or of the whole purāna Leaving aside, now, the *paramparā* of the single *kathā*-s, we consider only the *paramparā* of each purāna as a whole[4] Even in this case, however, several purāna-s give more than one list never completely matching one another From these previous considerations it appears how difficult it is to find an agreement among the purāna-s about who first recited them and who handed them over till the present form was reached The following Table I gives the actual situation of the purāna-s about their *paramparā* I have divided the lists in three layers, the justification for such a division will appear later

Table I examines seventeen purāna-s but gives thirty-eight lists of *paramparā*, none of which, except *Brahmānda P* 1.135ff and *Vāyu* I 1 1 ff agrees with any other[5] A certain convergence, however, can be found if we consider only the names of Vyāsa, Sūta, Śaunaka of the third layer, which appear in twenty-nine lists, Brahmā or synonyms of the first layer, which appear in twenty lists and Nārāyana-Nārada of the second layer, in eleven lists So each layer has at least one name which is common to several purāna-s.

3 See other parallel texts like *Padma P* V 1 38cd, *Matsya P.* 53.7cd etc

4 For the *paramparā* of the whole purāna see Table 1, for single *khaṇḍa-s* see *Skanda P* I 1 1ff, II 1 1ff, II 8 1 12ff etc , for single stories see *Kūrma P* II 1 15ff etc The three sets of interlocutors of which speaks H P Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection* .Vol. V. Purāna Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1928, p. XC, and which are visible at the beginning of many *kathā*-s are also a particular case of *paramparā*.

5. *Brahmavaivarta P* I 1 and IV 133, listed together, have in fact a difference in the last name, being Sūta in IV. 133 and Sauti in I 1, the former list, moreover, does not contain the name of Vyāsa.

TABLE I

Agni			Kūrma		Garuda				
(1.2 ff) Viṣṇu Agni	(1 18)[1] Brahmā Deva-s	(II 44 141f)	(II 44 143ff) Brahmā	(1 3 ff)	(1 11ff) Garuda	(2 5 ff) Brahmā		(2 7 ff) Viṣṇu Rudra-Brahmā-sura-s	
Vasiṣṭha ——		Nārāyaṇa Nārada Gautama Parāśara	Sanaka-Sanatkumāra			Kasyapa	Dakṣa-Nārada-Bhṛgu etc		
Vyāsa (Śuka, Paila etc.) Sūta Śaunaka			Devala Vyāsa Pañcaśikha Sūta muni-s	Sūta Śaunaka etc.	Vyāsa Sūta	Vyāsa Sūta		Vyāsa	

(1) Agni 1.13 is to be interpreted in the light of 1.18

Garuda	Devī Bhāg		Nārada		Padma			Brahma	Brahmānda	
(3 7ff)	(I 1 1ff)	(XII 13.1ff)	(I.1 15ff)	(I 92.1ff)	(I.1.25ff)	(V 1 2ff)	(V 1.43ff)	(1.3ff)	(I 1 8ff)	(I 1 35ff)
Hari Hari	Brahmā				Hari Brahmā	Prabhu	Brahmā	Pitāmaha	Prajāpati	Brahmā
Kaśyapa Rudra		Nārāyana Nārada	Sanaka (Sanāt-kumāra I 2 1) Nārada	Sanāt-kumāra Nāiada	Nārada	Satkulīya			Vasistha Parāsara Jātūkarnya	Mātarisvan munis
	Vyāsa Sūta Śaunaka	Vyāsa King	Vyāsa Sūta Śaunaka	Sūta	Vyāsa Sāat Śaunaka	Sūta Ugraśravas	Vyāsa Śaunaka	Vyāsa Sūta	Dvaipāyana 5 disc (Sūta etc) rsi-s	Dvaipāvana Sūta

Vāyu		Brahma-vaiv.	Bhavisya	Bhāgavata	Matsya		Mārkandeya
(I 1 1ff)[2]	(II 41 (45f,51)	(I 1 59ff =IV 133. 28ff)	(I 1 99ff)	(XII 13 19ff) cf XII 12 56 Nārāyana Brahmā	(1. 5 ff)	(53 1ff)	(1.1 ff.)
Brahmā	Vāyu Brahmā	Krsna Brahmā	Brahmā Śankara ı Vsnu		Gadā-dhara Bhagavān (called Viśva-rūpin in 290 1)	Viśvātman Brahmā (Matsya-Vājirūpa)	
Mātariśvan muni-s		Dharma Nārāyana Nārada	Nārada Śakra Parāsara	Nārada		Manu muni	Mārkandeya birds
Dvai-pāyana Sūta	Rsi-s Krsna Dvaip Sūta	Vyāsa Sūta (Sautı)	Vyāsa Sumantu	Vyāsa Śukadeva Parikṣit Sūta	Sūta Śaunaka	Sūta muni-s Vyāsarūpa	Jaimini

(2) In the salutation I. 1.7-8 the following names are mentioned : Vasiṣṭha, Jātūkarnya, Krsna Dvaipāyana

Liṅga	Viṣṇu	Skanda		
I. 1.5. cf also II. 53 38ff) Brahmā	(I 1 1ff)	(II 1.1ff) Brahmā	(VII. 1 1.27f) Pīnākin Pārvatī (Brahmā) Sanmukha	(VII. 1.2.17, 20ff) Viṣvātman Matsya Brahmā
Nārada	Pulastya Vasiṣtha Parāśara	Nārada	Nandī Kumāra	Manu muni-s
Vyāsa Sūta muni-s muni + Nārada	Sūta	Vyāsa Sūta Śaunaka	Vyāsa Romaharṣana Naimiṣeya other ṛṣi-s	Vyāsa

(2) In the salutation I. 1.7-8 the following names are mentioned : Vasiṣṭha, Janaḥśarman, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana

The three layers have been prepared to make the scheme more intelligible, they seem, however, to correspond really to three layers of purāṇic tradition, the first refers to the revealing deity, the second one to the different traditions of *muni*-s and *ṛṣi*-s and the third one to Vyāsa and his disciples These three layers, besides being separate in time,[6] seem to fulfil also different purposes in the handing over The following *śloka*-s, although referring to the particular story of Prahlāda, seem to reflect the function of the three layers in all the purāṇa-s.

सूत उवाच
कश्यपेन पुरा ज्ञात कृत व्यासेन धीमता ।
ब्रह्मणा कथित पूर्वं व्यासस्याग्रे स्वय प्रभो ॥
तमेव हि प्रवक्ष्यामि भवतामग्रतो द्विजा ।
(*Padma P*, II 1 4–5ab)

6. The problem of time in these *paramparā*-s is a complex one and would need a separate study It is, enough here to hint at the fact that each layer contains in itself, as in perspective, several *kalpa-s*, as it is apparent in the list of the 28 Vyāsa-s who appear, one by one, every Dvāpara The problem of time, anyway, is no matter of this article.

'Sūta said

In front of you, O dvija-s, I will proclaim just what was known by Kaśyapa in ancient times, made by sage Vyāsa, narrated previously by Brahmā in front of Vyāsa, the Lord himself.'

The three layers are here clearly qualified, each one having its own function the story, it is said, was *narrated* by Brahmā, was *known* to Kaśyapa, and was made up or *composed* by Vyāsa So the first layer constitutes the moment of revelation and the deity is the agent, the second one stresses the acquaintance Kaśyapa—somehow symbolizing *ṛṣi*-s, *muni*-s, *prajāpati* s etc —has got, which implies the handing over, the third one lastly specifies the role of Vyāsa as the 'doer', the systematizer, arranger or composer, which is a privileged role befitting Vyāsa because he had heard the story from Brahmā himself and he himself is the Lord The lines quoted above indeed presuppose the existence of another person, the actual speaker, who is Sūta It is in fact he who will narrate the story in the purāṇa This presence of Sūta in the above lines indicates on the one hand that the third layer is a composite one, in it in fact we meet with Vyāsa and Sūta at least On the other hand it gives a hint towards the actual composer of the purāṇa-s as we read them now. In other words the above mentioned *śloka*-s not only mention the revealing deity, the handers over and the Vyāsa-s or compilers but pose the problem of Sūta i. e , the actual reciters of the purāṇa as they are at present [7] This third layer, therefore, needs particular attention

1 Viṣṇu versus Brahmā as revealing deity

First of all let me point out that, although in this article I shall refer to Brahmā as the revealing deity, I do not take any definite stand about his revealing role In fact, the purāṇa-s while speaking of Brahma affirm that they were 'remembered' (*smṛtam*)[8] by him as if it were a mental process referring to him only On the other hand, the fact that he speaks or sings them out seems to imply that we are in the presence of a revelation

7 I refer here to the anonymous authors who introduce the interlocutors and who seem to claim the same rank of Sūta-s, since they speak in first person, cfr. *Kūrma P* I 1 1ff , *Padma P* I 1 1ff etc

8. See पुराण सर्वशास्त्राणा प्रथम ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ॥ (*Skanda P* V.1 23cd, *Matsya P.* 3 3ab etc)

Brahmā appears as a first revealing deity in fourteen lists and as second in five. Viṣnu, instead, is first in nine lists and is never placed as second. Moreover, in some lists where Viṣnu comes first, he is in 'direct competition' with Brahmā As several purāṇa-s have more than one list, it never happens, if we except Brahmavaivarta and Bhāgavata purāna-s, that a purāna contains only lists with Viṣnu as first, there is also always at least one list where Brahmā is first The Brahmavaivarta purāna can help us understand why Viṣnu is never second, while Brahmā can slip from the first place to the next one It is known that the Brahmavaivarta purāna has substituted the central figure of Brahmā (or Brahman, with Kṛṣna [9] The process, indeed, is not of mere substitution of Brahmā/Brahman with Kṛsna but it is a superimposition through assimilation of Kṛsna to Brahman This process of superimposition, in which Brahmā is substituted by Viṣnu and not Viṣnu by Brahmā, explains for the Brahmavaivarta, and hints at for the others, why in our *paramparā-s* Brahmā can slip to the second place, while Viṣṇu (or synonyms) is only first The case of the Bhaviṣya purāṇa where Viṣṇu is third is easily explained as soon as we realize that in this list all the three gods of the so called Trimūrti enter into the picture What matters in it is the first god, the other two are mentioned to complete the series, and their order has no importance We can, therefore, deduce that whenever in our lists there has been an evolution in tradition it must have been through a substitution of Brahmā with Viṣnu, in other words, it is Viṣnu who superseded Brahmā and not viceversa K Ruping has showed that at least in some cases Brahmā has superseded Viṣnu [10] We shall find a confirmation of this statement also in our study a little further on But such a substitution anyway did not touch the lists of purāṇic *paramparā* The two aspects, then, should be kept in mind and should induce us to be prudent when we have to examine a case of evolution from one tradition to another

Śiva (or synonyms) instead is put in the first place only once, in the Skanda purāṇa It seems that the Śaivite were not much

9 See A S Gupta, The Apocryphal Character of the Extant Brahmavaivarta purāṇa, in *Purāṇa*, Vārānasī, Vol III 1 (Jan., 1961), pp 5 ff

10 K Ruping, *Amṛtamanthana und Kūrma-Avatāra*, Ein Beitrag zur puranischen Mythen-und Religionsgeschichte, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp 24-28

interested in purānic arrangement A small sign of this can also be the fact that the colophons themselves, which developed at the time of transcription of the purāna-s, very rarely call an *adhyāya* "Śiva (or synonyms) *māhātmya*", even when in fact Śiva is praised or is the central figure of the *adhyāya*, while there are many 'Viṣnu *māhātmya-s*', even when Viṣnu is not the only person praised in that *adhyāya* [11] From this we can conclude that among the purānic systematizers only few were Śaivite We have, of course, intervention of Śaivite authors on previous Brāhmanic or Vaisnavite texts[12] but either they were not interested in purānic arrangement[13] or their intervention took place when such problems were of no interest to anybody

2 Second layer muni-s and ṛsi-s

Between the revealing deity—Brahmā or Viṣnu—and the last systematizers of the purānic material—Vyāsa etc —there is a series of persons who are here classified as *muni*-s and *ṛsi*-s[14] but who can also be Brahmā's sons i e Sanaka, Sanatkumāra etc , minor forms of deities like Dharma, Mātariśvan, *Prajāpati*-s like Kasyapa and Daksa The name that recurs more often is Nārada, sometimes in connection with his guru Nārāyana As both Nārayaṇa and Nārada had their *āśrama* on the Himālaya s, the insistence on these names can imply the importance the Himālayan source has in the purāna-s [15]

11. Śiva Māhātmya is found very rarely, cf Śivamāhātmyakhanda of the Sūta Samhitā of the *Skanda purāna*, *Brahma P* 37, cf also 40, *Bhavisya P* III 4 14, *Saura P* (ASS) 46, cf also 48,64 and a few others Brahmā māhātmya-s practically do not exist

12 The *Kūrma purāna* is an example of Śaivite influence on a previous Vaisnavite text and the relation between the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmānda* shown below is an example of Śaivite influence on a previous Brāhmanic text

13 When the *purāna*-s have been classified according to the three *guna-s*, the *purāna-s* dealing mainly with Śiva were assigned the *tamoguna*, no Śaivite author seems to have reacted to such a classification which was somewhat diminishing the prestige of their purāna-s

14 Vyāsa also was considered a *muni* (cf *Devī Bhāgavata* P. I 1 3) or a *ṛsi* (cf *Mahābhārata* I 1 17)

15 See Giorgio Bonazzoli, Places of Purānic Recitation According to the Purāna-s, to be published shortly

This multitude of unconnected names seems to mean that the purānic tradition which will be later organized by Vyāsa, stems from various sources, persons and places Each purāna could claim its own distinct *paramparā* or even show two or more different traditions all converging at the end into Vyāsa and his disciples, the only real exception being the Mārkandeya purāna There seems to be, however, a selection in tradition, most of the names given in the *paramparā-s*, indeed, can be gathered under three categories, namely Brahmā's *mānasputra*-s, *saptarsi-s* and Vyāsa-s If this selection stresses the role of Brahmā in the early purānic tradition,[16] it means, however, that the purāna-s themselves claim to have several and different sources Not only but from an examination of the places where the purāna-s claim to have been recited, we can point out some of the ancient purānic sources Now, the purāna s say that they were composed at Puskara, at one Himālayan *āśrama* like Badarikāsrama, Siddhāsrama, Gangādvāra etc , at Kuruksetra and at Naimisāranya [17] I have proved elsewhere[18] that Puskara seems to be linked with Brahmā i e with the moment of revelation, Kuruksetra and Naimisāranya with Vyāsa and his school, while the *rsi*-s and the *muni*-s seem to figure in connection with the Himālayan currents Even at Puskara, however, the place of the revealing stage of the purāna-s, lived *rsi*-s and *muni*-s,[19] that means that the first

16 Although Visnu comes as a revealing deity in some lists, yet the importance of Brahmā in purānic composition is indisputable

17 The following are the passages where the places of purānic recitation are mentioned *Agni* I 2 (Naimisa), I 6 (Badarikāsrama), *Kūrma* II 44 142 (Gangādvāra), *Garuda* I 3 (Naimisa), 2 2 (Badarikāsrama), 2 10 (Kailāsa), *Devī Bhāgavata* I 2 27 (Naimisa), *Nārada* I 1 3, cf 28 (Naimisa), I.1 15,24 (Siddhāsrama), *Padma* I 1 6 and V 1 10 (Naimisa), V 2 44 (Prayāga), V 1 47,95 (Gangādvāra), V 16 5 (Puskara), *Brahma* 1 3 (Naimisa), *Brahmānda* I 1.17 (Kuruksetra), cf I 1 37 (Naimisīya), *Brahmavaivarta* I 1.1 (Naimisa), I 1.60-63 (Goloka, Puskara, Jāhnavitate, Siddhaksetra) , *Bhāgavata* I 1 4 (Naimisa), *Matsya* I 2 (Naimisāranyavāsinah), *Linga* I 1 4 8 (Naimisa), Vāyu I 1 11 (Kuruksetra), they are Naimisāranyagocara in I 1 12 and Naimisiya in I 1 141, *Siva* I 1 1 (Prayāga), *Skanda* I. 1 12; II 1 1 etc (Naimisa), II 1.7 (Jāhnavitate), II 8.1 8 (Kuruksetra), VII. 1 27, VII 3 4 (Kailāsa)

18. cf fn. 15

19. see, for instance, *Padma P* V 16. 51 cd.

stage is pervaded, so to say, by the second one Moreover Vyāsa, Sūta and Śaunaka talk to *ṛṣi*-s both at Kurukṣetra and at Naimiṣa [20] So the second layer is in contact with the third one also, it is somehow omnipervadent It stretches, indeed, over to the first layer, because any revealing deity needs a recipient and such recipients are the *ṛṣi*-s and the *muni*-s Besides, it extends upto the third layer because Vyāsa and his disciples receive purāṇic tradition from them So they are somehow only receivers as far as they stretch over to the first stage and they are active and transmitting elements as far as they continue the tradition in the next stage The *ṛṣi*-s and the *muni*-s, then, are the connective tissue of all the three layers, they receive the purāṇic tradition, they preserve it and they pass it on *Mārkaṇḍeya P* 45 23 puts them in connection with the veda-s also specifying that *ṛṣi*-s were dealing with the veda-s properly, while *muni*-s were concerned with purāṇic tradition

वेदान् सप्तर्षयस्तस्माज्जगृहुस्तस्य मानसाः ।
पुराण जगृहुश्चाद्या मुनयस्तस्य मानसा ॥

'The seven *ṛṣi*-s, then, his mental (sons), took grasp of the veda-s, and the *muni*-s, his mental (sons), took first grasp of the purāṇa-s

In fact, in the texts such a distinction does not appear clearly, while the unity of vedic and purāṇic tradition is here easily noticeable, as in the quoted *śloka* the *saptarṣi*-s and *muni*-s are both considered Brahmā's *mānasaputra-s*

3. Vyāsa-Sūta-Saunaka

The Vyāsa-s[21] represent in purāṇic tradition, even in the purāṇa-s themselves, one of the many purāṇic sources They were, in fact, the final arrangers i e the composers of the purāṇic *saṃhitā* According to several purāṇa-s[22] in each Dvāpara of the seventh Varāha *kalpa* a Vyāsa appears and the name of each one of them is given Although these lists of names do not agree with one another, yet they confirm the widely spread tradition that the Vyāsa-s

20. see fn 17

21 On Vyāsa-s see Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op cit*, pp 63 ff, Giridhar Śarma Caturvedi, *op cit*, pp 58 ff

22 cf *Kūrma P* I 50 1ff, *Devī Bhāgavata P* I 3 19 ff, *Brahmāṇḍa P* I 2 35 116 ff, *Vāyu P* II 41 58 ff=*Brahmāṇḍa P* III 4.58ff, *Vāyu P* I 23.109 ff, *Liṅga P* 24 12 ff, *Viṣṇu P* III 3 5 ff, etc.

are responsible for the arrangement of the veda-s [23] In this connection a remark becomes necessary There are at least ten lists[24] of the twenty-eight Vyāsa-s, which are put in direct connection with the division of the veda-s done by them, in which there is no mention of any activity of Vyāsa-s about the purāna-s There are, instead, other four lists of Vyāsa-s irregular in number,[25] which do not mention any activity of Vyāsa about the veda-s but stand for a list of purāṇic *paramparā*, as if each Vyāsa had trasmitted the purāna s to the next one This seems to presuppose that a previously existent list of Vyāsa-s, arrangers of the veda-s, was utilized by purāṇic authors for their purpose This would imply that Vyāsa was first a title applied to a vedic arranger and then it was extended to a purāṇic compiler or composer So the name Vyāsa was purposely applied to purāṇic authors to mean the direct connection of the purāna-s with the veda-s A closer examination of this process, in fact, leads us to see how the purāna-s had been conceived as a completion of the veda-s The following well-known *śloka* affirms it openly

इतिहासपुराणभ्या वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामय प्रहरिष्यति ॥

(Brahmānda P I- 1 1 171)

'The veda is completed with itihāsa and purāna The veda fears little knowledge, (as it thinks) "this will turn me out" '

Bhāgavata P III 12 39 cd and others affirm that itihāsa-purāna is the fifth veda The identification of the Vyāsa-s, the arrangers of veda-s, with the compilers of the purāna-s was the next step on this same line Proceeding further some purāna-s identified the twenty-eight Vyāsa-s of the veda-s, who were spread in each Dvāpara yuga of twenty-eight *kalpa-s* with the purāṇic *paramparā*, which presupposes direct handing over and, therefore, contiguity in time All this confirms that the introduction of Vyāsa in the purāṇic arrangment aims, as we have said, at pointing out a direct connection between the veda-s and the purāna-s

23 see, for instance, *Nārada P.* I 1 17 ff

24 see V Raghavan, *op cit* , scheme after p 52

25 They are *Brahmānda P* III 4 4 58ff (the Vyāsa-s are 31), *Vāyu P* II 41 58 ff (they are 30), *Viṣnu P* I 8 43ff (they are 24), *Skanda P* 1 2.40 203 ff (they are 26).

The third layer of Table I, besides Vyāsa, contains usually two other names, i e Śaunaka and Sūta Now, Śaunaka according to tradition is a descendant of Bhṛgu i e he is a Bhārgava[26], one of those priests who, according to V S Suktankar[27] and others are responsible for the Mahābhārata tradition The Bhārgava-s, moreover, were Atharvan-s[28], continuctors and enlargers of the ancient vedic tradition Śaunaka, therefore, serves as an ulterior determination of the role of Vyāsa This latter meant, in the purāṇic arrangement, the relation of the purāṇa-s with the veda-s Śaunaka in his turn, specifies that the veda in which the purāṇa-s enter is the Atharvaveda On the other hand, the name of Śaunaka and the Bhārgava s —as well as Vyāsa, naturally—[29] is linked to the Mahābhārata [30] Śaunaka then not only constitutes a joining point of the purāṇa-s with the Atharvaveda but also with the *'itihāsa'*

Sūta, finally, represents the bardic stream,[31] i e, a more popular current which collects the new suggestions coming from larger and larger circles of population In fact, if the veda-s were barred from sūdra-s and women as well as from bad brāhmaṇa-s, the purāṇa s, instead, were for everybody

अल्पायुषोऽल्पबुद्धीश्च विप्रान् ज्ञात्वा कलावथ ।
पुराणसंहिता पुण्या कुरुतेऽसौ युगे युगे ॥20॥
स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूना न वेदश्रवण मतम् ।
तेषामेव हितार्थाय पुराणानि कृतानि च ॥21॥
(*Devī Bhāgavata P.* I 3.20-21)

26 see Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op cit*, pp 45-50, Vyāsa is also in direct relation with Bhṛgu cf *Vāyu P.* 1 1.36.

तस्मै भगवते कृत्वा नमो व्यासाय वेधसे ।
पुरुषाय पुराणाय भृगुवाक्यप्रवर्त्तिने ॥

27 see A D Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay, 1951, pp 92, 104, 111f

28. *Matsya P.* 51 10, cf Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit*, pp 44 ff.

29. cf. V. Raghavan, *op cit* passim, see *Matsya P* 53 70

अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुत ।
भारताख्यानमखिल चक्रे तदुपबृ हितम् ॥

30. see for instance, *Mahābhārata* I. 1 1 ff

31. See P. L Vaidya, *Harivaṁśa*, vol I, Introduction, Poona, 1969, pp. XXXIX ff

'Knowing that the brāhmana-s during Kali yuga have short and little mind, he makes every yuga the sacred purāna-samhitā (20)

Hearing the veda-s is not meant for women, śūdra and bad brāhmana-s Purāna-s were made just for their benefit (21)'

Such an attitude was not displayed by all the purāṇic authors *Kūrma P* I 1 11, for instance, restricts purāṇic narration only to good *dvija-s* The presence of Sūta in the *paramparā*, however, and the fact that really Sūta-s enter very often as narrators in the purāna-s warrant that purāṇic literature will always be open to large circles of people

So this third layer seems to be particularly rich in suggestions about purāṇic tradition, it says, in fact, that the purāna-s are in direct connection with the veda s, particularly with the Atharvans, that they are linked to the Mahābhārata and lastly that they are always open to new suggestions coming from popular traditions The presence of some other names in the third layer, like Ugraśravas and Parīksit, stresses only the link the purāna-s have with the Mahābhārata, they, in fact, stand in place of Śaunaka, as is clear from the Table As for Sumantu of the Bhavisya purāna's *paramparā*, Śuk. deva in the Bhāgavata's and others, whatever their meaning might be, their presence in this third layer does not invalidate the conclusions reached above

A particular problem is represented by the parallel *paramparā-s* Sometimes there are two different traditions coalescing in the same purāna, as in the case of Padma purāna, where I 1 2ff give as *paramparā* Hari, Brahmā, Nārada, Vyāsa, Sūta, while V I 2ff l ave the sequence Svayambhū, Satkulīya, Sūta, Śaunaka In this and similar cases we can suppose that the purāna has gathered two or more different sources, which stemmed from different authors or different areas This would be a particular case of a common trend of the purāna-s, which are works composed from different sources But there are other cases in which the purāna-s claim to have been narrated somehow parallely by different persons to different listeners *Kūrma P* II 44 143 says that the purāna was narrated by Brahmā to Śaunaka and Sanatkumāra, from Śaunaka then it passed to Devala and later to Pañcasikha, from Sanatkumāra, instead, it went to Vyāsa, Sūta and the *rsi-s*. *Agni P* 1.18cd-19ab say even more clearly

विष्णुनोक्त यथा मह्यं देवेभ्यो ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥
तथा ते कथयिष्यामि ।

'As in olden times it was narrated to me by Visnu and to the gods by Brahmā, so I shall narrate to you. .'

In neither case we are informed how transmission took place, both traditions had their own purāna which was similar to the other and yet different These parallel *paramparā-s* seem to show at least that the differences in puranic tradition are not only due to different sources which contributed to form it, but they depend also on the different ways the same purānic topic is narrated [32] The process then seems to be similar to the one we see in the veda-s where the different *śākhā-s* were mostly based only on different *paramparā-s* with small variants [33] The purāna-s, we know it definitely, very often do not claim to present new subjects but only to re-narrate what is already known.[34] The parallel *paramparā-s*, therefore, bear witness to a process of unification which is so clearly visible in the whole purānic tradition

PURĀNASAMHITĀ-S

To understand better the process of the purānic *paramparā* we have to analyse another feature of our texts, namely their composite character They are said to be '*pañcalakṣaṇa*' or '*daśalakṣaṇa*'[35], some of them claim to have '*catuspāda-s*'[36] exactly like the veda-s, they moreover affirm to be '*nānārtha*'-s or '*nānākathā-s*'[37]

32 cf *Brahmāṇḍa P* I 2.35 67cd, *Vāyu P* I. 61 59cd
पाठान्तरे पृथक्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥

33 cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya P* 45 21
पुराणसंहिताश्चक्रुर्बहुला. परमर्षय ।
वेदाना प्रविभागश्च कृतस्तैस्तु सहस्रश ॥

31. cf यथाश्रुतम् *Padma P* V 1 26cd, *Devī Bhāgavata P* I. 3 1ff, यथावीतम् *Bhāgavata P* I 3 45cd etc

35 For '*pañcalakṣaṇa*' see *Agni P* 1 14, *Kūrma P* I. 1 12, *Garuḍa P* 2 28, *Viṣnu P* III 6 24 etc For '*daśalakṣaṇa*' see *Bhāgavata P* II 10 1 ff, XII 7 8 ff, *Brahmavaivarta P* IV 133 6-10, *Bhaviṣya P* III 4 25 219-220

36 see *Vāyu P* I 61. 59a, *Brahmāṇḍa P* I 1 38ff, *cf Nārada P* I 109 1ff, also the colophons of the *Pūrvakhaṇḍa* of the *Nārada* and of the *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa-s* divide the purāṇa into *catuspāda*

37. see *Nārada P* I 92 5

etc Besides, many purāṇic texts refer to the purāna-s as '*purāṇa-saṃhitā*'[38] This last definition seems to be particularly meaningful and it is worth deeper attention The expression '*purāṇa-saṃhitā*' can be found in the colophons as a description of a purāna, as in the *Skanda purāna*, Reva Khanda, *Kūrma Purāna*, *Bhavisya purāna* etc it can refer to a single purāna or to an *adhyāya* only, as in the *Skanda purāna*, Revā khanda, 1 3 53 [39] But in its more comprehensive meaning it describes all the eighteen purāna-s as a whole, as in *Brahmānda P* II 34 21[40] etc

Visnu P III 6 15 and others[41] explain what a *purānasamhitā* is composed of, namely *ākhyāna*-s, *upākhyāna*-s, *gāthā*-s, *kalpaśuddhi* (or *kalpajokti* or *kulakarma*) From the same purāna (I 1 29-30) we know that these *samhitā*-s existed before Krsna Dvaipāyana, i e before the eighteen purāna-s If we give credit to the above definition, these *samhitā*-s gathered several topics, which had stemmed out in different periods, according to *Nārada P* I 92 5 a *purānākhyāna* can be '*nānākalpasamudbhava*', which implies that the origins of a purāna should be traced in different periods

Besides the four ingredients mentioned above (i e *ākhyāna*-s etc.) we can perhaps find other hints for understanding the content of these *purānasamhitā*-s In several places we see that the whole content of a purāna or of a single *adhyāya* is called *purānākhyāna* or even simply 'purāna'[42] From this fact and from the word '*purāna-saṃhitā*', we can gather that the word purāṇa can be a short form of both *purānākhyāna* and *purānasamhitā* We can, therefore, even say that a *purāna* (*-samhitā*) is made of *purāna* (*ākhyāna*)-s [43] This lead us on the one hand to be careful when we find the word 'purāna in the text, and on the other to realize that, according

38 see *Brahmānda P* II 34 21, *Vāyu P* I 60 21,, *Visnu P* III 6 15, *Devī Bhāgavata P* I 1 6, I 2 37, I 3 24ff, *Nārada P* I 1 16, II 82 35 cd, *Padma P* II 125 38, *Linga P* I 1 11ab, *Skanda P* VII 1 1 4, 30.

39 cf also *Visnu P* I 1 30, *Nārada P.* II. 82. 34-35 etc

40 cf fn 38

41 cf fn 38

42 cf *Nārada P* I 1. 36, I 92 3, *Brahmānda P* I 1 7c, *Vāyu P* I 1 6

43 The problem is very complex in fact, because even a single purāna can be formed of several *purāṇasamhitā-s*, see *Siva Purāna.*

to the purāṇa-s themselves, the purāṇic texts reached Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and even his ancestors already in a composite form. *Mārkaṇḍeya P* 45 21 says openly that the *purāṇasaṃhitā-s* were made by the *ṛṣi*-s

The problem needs further consideration Although indeed the purāṇa-s claim that *purāṇasaṃhitā*-s existed even before Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, yet they also clearly affirm that in the beginning purāṇa was only one *"Purāṇam ekam evāsīt"* is a kind of refrain repeated very often [44] In this connection two theories are introduced in the purāṇa-s themselves to explain how from one purāṇa eighteen developed [45] One affirms that the one purāṇa of a hundred crores of *śloka*-s narrated by Brahmā was reduced to four hundred thousand *śloka*-s by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and then divided into eighteen by him The other theory states that Vedavyāsa composed a *purāṇasaṃhitā* which he recited to his disciples, three of whom composed in their turn their own *saṃhitā* and so on From all this one thing at least is clear Vyāsa is a turning point in the purāṇic evolution Until him the purāṇa-s have no names, either they are mere *purāṇākhyāna*-s or, if they are already *purāṇasaṃhitā*-s, they have no specific name The first time they get a name they are called '*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*',[46] which can mean perhaps 'universal purāṇa' or 'purāṇa dealing with the Brahmāṇḍa' According to *Skanda P* VII 1 2 8 the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa of which we speak now has still one hundred crores of *śloka*-s and, therefore, its name does not yet refer to any particular purāṇa, but rather to the original purāṇa not yet divided into eighteen Even at the time of Romaharṣaṇa the *purāṇasaṃhitā* that Vyāsa's disciple receives from his guru is still nameless[47] The names will be given as we proceed in time when the *saṃhitā*-s multiply and slowly begin to

44 cf *Nārada P* I 92 ?, *Matsya P* 53 4, *Skanda P* V I 23, VII 12 8 etc

45 see A S Gupta, Purāṇa-s and their Referencing, in *Purāṇa*, Vārāṇasī, Vol VII 2 (July, 1965), pp. 323-326

46 cf *Kūrma P* II 41 13cd, *Nārada P* I. 109 30f, *Skanda P* VII. 1 2 8, but the lists of the eighteen purāṇa-s give Brahma purāṇa as first supported also by *Viṣṇu P* III 6 20 and *Brahma P* 245 4, only *Vāyu P* 104 (cf also *Dev Bhāgavata P* I 3 2) puts the Matsya purāṇa as first while *Bhaviṣya P* III 3 284 puts the Viṣṇu purāṇa

47 cf *Viṣṇu P* II 6 16, *Bhāgavata P* XII 7 5-7

differentiate, first only in their diction[48] and then more and more in their subjects, order and even purpose[49]

The purāna-s say also something more about this turning point so important in the history not only of the purāna-s but of the entire Indian culture We are insistently informed that Veda-vyāsa (or one of his disciples) attended to a twelve-year-long sacrifice at Naimisa at the beginning of Kaliyuga and that then purāna-s were narrated or re-narrated[50] The somewhat official beginning of the purānic era takes place, therefore in occasion of a sacrifice, at the dawn of the Kaliyuga[51] Sacrifice can be considered the natural place where the purāna-s were narrated, whether we speak of the vedic 'purāna'[52] or of the new '*purānasamhitā*-s' In this association of the purāna-s with the Naimisa *sattra* we can see perhaps also a kind of ideal continuation of the vedic era—centred on sacrifice—into the purāna-s, which claim to be '*veda-sammita*[53] So both because sacrifice is the natural place for *kathā*-s and because of purāna-s being '*pañcamo veda*',[54] the Naimisa *sattra* constitutes the most meaningful frame for the beginning of the puranic era

The purāna s, althouth rooted in the veda-s and going back to very ancient times, want to be useful to the people of Kaliyuga. The eighteen puiāna-s which began their development from Veda-vyāsa are meant indeed to meet the needs of the fourth age Although, in fact, the Vyāsa-s are said to appear '*dvāpare dvāpare*

48 cf *Vāyu P* I 61 59cd

49 Compare *Matsya P* 53 4 with *Nārada P.* I 92 22

50. cf *Kūrma P* 1 2, *Matsya P* I 1 5, *Devī Bhāgavata P* I 2 33. The *Mahābhārata* has also the same background, cf Ādi-parva 1 1 ff.

51 प्रासे कलियुगे घोरे (*Śiva P* I 1, 12a)

52 The controversy about the way the vedic purāna was linked with the sacrifice can be seen in P V Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Poona, Vol 5, 1962, pp 865-867. Beyond the polemics, however, it remains that purāna-s both in vedic times and later were in connection with a sacrifice, even if sometimes the purānic *kathā*-s were distinct from the *kathā*-s narrated during the sacrifice.

53 cf. *Brahmavaivarta P* I. 1 7, 160 and also *Vāyu P* I. 1 9b, *Brahmānda P* I 1 1 10b

54 see *Skanda P* V 3 1. 18, *Bhāgavata P* III 12. 39 cd etc.

sadā,[55] their activity and their influence is in Kaliyuga, that is '*kalpāntare*'[56], during this age [57]

From all this it seems that we can gather the following statement from the purāṇic texts whatever was the previous situation of the purāṇa-s (or purāṇa) before Vedavyāsa, from his times downwards the purāṇa-s meet the needs of the people living in Kaliyuga Their teaching, however, is not new, it is linked to the veda-s, to the ancient *ṛṣi*-s and *muni*-s, it comes directly from Brahmā or Viṣṇu and their content is already a part of the ancient tradition But only with Vedavyāsa we can speak of a purāṇic era, whence only the ancient anonymous purāṇa begins to take different names to fit different needs in different situations of time and space.

REDUCTION AND DIFFERENTIATION OF PARAMPARA-S

The parallel *paramparā-s* already considered above can help us now to understand another fact in the purāṇa-s. Four purāṇic passages, namely *Agni P* 272, *Matsya P*. 53, *Nārada P* I. 92ff, *Skanda P.* VII 1. 2 28ff contain the summary of all the eighteen purāṇa-s I have already shown in another article[58] that these summaries should be considered as an attempt to fix a purāṇic canon and therefore represent the purāṇa-s at a particular point of their evolution and should not be taken as if they were the authentic representations of the original purāṇa-s. A confirmation of this statement is also found in the part of such summaries dealing with the *paramparā-s* of each purāṇa Table 2 shows them as they appear in the four above mentioned purāṇa-s, and gives also the reciters of the single purāṇa-s as available in *Bhaviṣya P* III 3 28 8 The Table shows, first of all, that there are three distinct traditions, one represented by Agni, Matsya and Skanda purāṇa-s, the other represented by the Nārada purāṇa and the third by the Bhaviṣya This fact leads us to think that the lists of *paramparā-s* have also their own tradition like many other puranic topics. Moreover, the changing of *paramparā* in the last two passages implies most probably also a change in purāṇic content This is another proof that it is dangerous to rely on such texts to judge

55 cf *Nārada P.* I 92 24, *Devī Bhāgavata P* I 3 18 ff. etc.

56. cf *Matsya P* 53 4.

57 अस्मिन् युगे *Brahmānda P.* I. 2 34 11a

58. The Dynamic Canon of the Purāṇa-s, *op cit*, pp 140-142

TABLE II

Purānic Paramparā

Purāna-s	Acc to *Matsya* 53 (=*SK* VII 1 2 28ff)	Acc to *Agni* 272	Acc to *Nārada* I 92 ff	Acc to *Bhav* III 3 28 8ff
1. Brahma	Brahmā-Marīcı	Brahmā-Marīcı	Vyāsa	Brahmā
2 Padma	—	—	Pulastya-Bhīsma/Vyāsa	Brahmā
3. Visnu	Parāsara	Parāsara	Śaktıja-Maıtreya/Vyāsa	Parāsara
4. Vāyu	Vāyu	Harıprıya/Vāyu	Vāyu	Vyāsa(*Śiva Purāna* and *Vāyu Purāna*)
5. Bhāgavata	—	—	2nd Skandha by Vyāsa 6th Skandha by Vyāsa	Śukra
6. Nārada	Nārada	Nārada	1. Bhāga by Sanaka 2 Bhāga by Sanandana-Nārada 3 Bhāga by Sanatkumāra-Nārada 4 Bhāga Sanātana- Nārada	—
7 Mārkandeya	Mārkandeya	—	Jaımını-Mārkandeya	Mārkandeya
8. Agnı	Agni-Vasistha	Agnı-Vasıstha	Anala-Vasistha	Angıras
9. Bhavısya	Caturmukha-Manu	Bhava-Manu	Brahmā-Manu/Vyāsa	Mahādeva

10. Brahmavaiv.	Sāvarni-Nārada	Sāvarni-Nārada	Sāvarni-Nārada/Vyāsa	—
11. Linga	Maheśvara/Brahmā	Maheśvara	Hara-Brahmā-Dharma etc .Vyāsa	Tandin
12. Varāha	Viṣnu-Kśoni	Viṣnu	—	Mārkandeya
13. Skanda	Sanmukha	Skanda	Brahmā, Vyāsa, Sanmukha, Sthānu, Skanda	Śiva
14. Vāmana	Caturmukha	—	Pulastya-Nārada-Vyāsa-Romaharsana-Naimiśiya	Vyāsa
15 Kūrma	Janārdana (Kūrmarūpin) rsi-s	Kūrma	Hari (Kūrmarūpin)-rsi-s	Vyāsa
16 Matsya	Janārdana (Matsyarūpin) Manu	Matsya-Manu	Vyāsa	Vyāsa
17 Garuda	Krsna	Viṣnu	—	Hari
18 Brahmānda	Brahmā	Brahmā	Parāsara-Brahmā-Marīci-people-Vasistha-Śaktisuta-Jātūkarnya-Vyāsa	Tandin (*Nrsimha purāṇa*) Vyāsa

whether a purāna is ancient or not, is spurious or original. We have seen above that several purāna-s have their own *paramparā*. Now if we compare the *paramparā-s* available in the single purāna-s with those given in Table II we see that they rarely match one another. Sometimes the five cited passages have a list of names shorter than those of the purāna-s, some other times they offer a completely new list different from those given in the purāna-s. This implies that the content of the purāna-s had also changed and, even more, that the cultural and traditional background which had produced that content was somewhat transformed and altered The process which is visible in the substitution of Brahmā with Visnu (or synonyms) as a revealing deity in the purānic transmission or in the substitution of a temple deity (or *mūrti*)[59] with another in the actual religious practice, is also visible in the substitution of a purānic *paramparā* with another This practice to change the list of the *paramparā* according to the content, however, lasted only sometime The fact that the list of the *paramparā* in three of the above mentioned passages has become traditional, points to the fact that the list had acquired an importance of its own and needed not correspond to the purānic content. We have cases, indeed, in which the content is changed while the *paramparā* remains unaltered [60] In fact many additions were inserted in the purāna-s when the interest for the list of *paramparā s* had already disappeared.

The shifting from one *paramparā* to another, indeed, does not imply necessarily a change of content We have examples of a *kathā* narrated with the same words in two different interlocutors [61] From a difference of *paramparā*, then, not always can we conclude a difference in content, and this applies not only to single stories as it might appear from what has been said but also to the whole

59. It is not uncommon to see *linga*-s of Śiva in the temples being substituted with a statue of Rāma I can remember here the temple of Sangameśvara at Assi in Vārānasī, where such change took place very recently See also Gayāmāhātmya, Introduction, in *Purāna*, Vārānasī, Vol XXI 2 (July, 1979), p 7.

60 see A S Gupta, *op cit* , for the Brahmavaivarta purāṇa

61 Good examples can be discovered in W Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Leiden, 1927, passim.

purāna [62] The changes in the *paramparā*, however, hint at a change in the cultural and religious background of a purāna The same fact narrated in a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī will reveal a Śaivite composer, narrated in a dialogue between Rādhā and Krsna will reveal a Vaisnavite author Most probably the story itself will have different details in the two versions due mainly to the different religious trends of the two authors

THE VAYU AND THE BRAHMĀNDA PURĀNA-S

An example of the importance the *paramparā* can assume in the purāna-s is found in a comparison between the Brahmānda and the Vāyu purāna-s Although some authors affirm that the two purāna-s were distinct from the very beginning,[63] it seems more sensible to accept Kirfel's and others' statement that the actual Brahmānda and Vāyu were originally one single purāna, which split into two in course of time [64] It seems that one of the reasons for such a division is to be found in the puranic *paramparā* which is different in the two purāna-s

When one begins to examine the differences between the Brahmānda and the Vāyu one is tempted to see whether such differences refer also to the main deity in the two purāna-s. The name 'Vāyu purana' induces us to think that its main deity is Vāyu, while 'Brahmanda purāna' can suggest that its most important god is Brahmā And supposing, then, that in one purāṇa Vāyu is the chief revealer and in the other it is Brahmā, one is immediately tempted to see what was the main deity in the original purāna, to discover whether it was the god Vāyu who took the place of Brahmā or viceversa It may, however, be disappointing to find out that almost always the main deity of one purāna coincides with that of the other The existing differences, which can be easily discovered are too few to suppose that a substitution of the main deity in one of the two purāna-s can be the real cause of the splitting into two of the original one. Let us see some examples

62 The comparison between the Vāyu and the Brahmānda purāna-s which will be made below supports this statement See also the changes that took place in the Kūrma purāna which from vaisnavite became saivite through the substitution of the main deity with another one and the change of interlocutors

63. see Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit*, p 162.

64. W. Kirfel, *op. cit*, p. X ff.

Vāyu P I 1 185 says

अतश्च सक्षेपमिम शृणुध्वं महेश्वर सर्वमिद पुराणम् ।

'And thereafter, listen to the summary all this purāna is Maheśvara' Brahmā I 1 174 has exactly the same śloka but substitutes Nārāyana for Maheśvara

In another place the Vāyu purāna describes Maheśvara with the attributes of Brahmā

महेश्वर परोऽव्यक्तश्चतुर्बाहुश्चतुर्मुखः ।

(*Vāyu P* I 1 42ab)

'Maheśvara is supreme, the unevolved, with four arms and four faces', or again it attributes to Maheśvara actions which are usually referred to Brahmā

प्रधान पुरुष चैव प्रविश्याण्ड महेश्वर. ।

(*Vāyu P* I 5 12 ab)

'Maheśvara indeed having entered Pradhāna, Puruśa and the egg.' Sometimes there is also a small bit of polemics, as in *Vāyu P* I 1 184

तस्यापि जगत स्रष्टु स्रष्टा देवो महेश्वर ।

'God Maheśvara is creator also of the creator of this world' Some more examples can be gathered but not many indeed Against them instead we could collect a long series of instances in which the two purāna-s have exactly the same words and use the same deity, Maheśvara or Brahmā, according to the situation From all this we can deduce only that the Vayu purāna, which innovates in many places the Brahmānda, was written or readjusted by an author who preferred Maheśvara to Brahmā, even if usually he did not interfere with the original text to change it. The real difference between the two purāna-s, therefore, does not lie here A deeper split can instead be found when we look at the *parampara*. Let us note first of all that both purāna-s claim in their colophons to be "*Vāyuprokta*", narrated by Vāyu. But if we examine the texts we discover that Vāyu is an interlocutor only in the Vāyu purāna and only in those parts which are different from the Brahmānda, i.e., those peculiar to it These parts, which are now found only in one purāna, should perhaps be considered belonging to the original purāna, that is to say that they have not been added by the Vāyu purāna after the splitting; they have been rather removed by the Brahmānda It is this last purāna, moreover, not the Vāyu,

that is interested in the purāṇic canon, it contains the theory of purāṇic composition in the *anukramanikā* (I 1), while it is absent in the Vāyu, its colophons go over and over a division in *catuṣpāda* etc which is not made by the Vāyu. Both purāṇa-s, however, have an *adhyāya*—*Vāyu P* I 60 and *Brahmānda P* I 34—which deals with purāṇic origin and its handing over Both the *adhyāya-s* have the same text with minor variants, but the purāṇic *paramparā* is very short as it is not the main concern of the author of that *adhyāya* The fact that the content of this *adhyāya* is not mentioned in the Vāyu's *anukramanikā* of *adhyāya* I 1 can support the conclusion that the Vāyu purāṇa for this *adhyāya* was influenced by the Brahmānda Moreover, the latter contains in *adhyāya* I 1 a *paramparā* ascending to Vasiṣtha and the *ṛṣi-s*, while such a tradition is almost meaningless in the Vāyu Everything leads us to conclude that the whole matter dealing with purāṇic arrangement is alien to the original Vāyu, this matter entered the purāṇa under the influence of the Brahmānda Seeing the importance the god Vāyu has in the *adhyāya* peculiar to the Vāyu purāṇa and in the colophons of both the purāṇa-s, one is amazed to realize that in the purāṇic *paramparā-s* of both the purāṇa, Vayu is not mentioned The amazement is even greater when we think of the Vāyu purāṇa in which the name 'Vāyu' is present even in the title Instead of Vāyu there is Mātariśvan, a synonym of Vāyu, but his presence does not seem to justify the absence of the name Vāyu in the *paramparā* In places where we would expect Vāyu, Brahmā comes into the picture as he is the usual revealing deity in *adhyāya-s* dealing with purāṇic arrangement in other purāṇa-s too, Brahmā, however, is no interlocutor in the Vāyu and Brahmānda, and this seems to be meaningful Only one who was interested in purāṇic systematization could have added such a name which was the common one for many other purāṇa-s without any real correspondence in the actual text It is perhaps to be attributed to the Brahmānda's authors and not the Vāyu's The situation of the two purāṇa-s would also reveal, then, a counteraction of Brahmā's followers on previous texts, which in this case were most probably śaivite if we keep in mind what has been said above This case, then, is a confirmation of what was proved by K Ruping for the Padma purāṇa This makes us curious to find out how widespread are the remnants of this Brāhmanic reaction in the purāṇa-s. The four summaries of

all the purāna-s mentioned above are unanimous in saying that the Vāyu purāna was spoken by Vāyu About the Brahmānda purāna, instead, they are split into two traditions, one considering Brahmā as the original speaker and the other accumulating a long list of handers over, the longest in these summaries, in which Brahmā occupies only the second place The described situation seems to imply that at the time of the composition of such summaries the Vāyu purāna had still Vāyu as the most important narrator, while for the Brahmānda the situation was still fluid On the other hand these very summaries can induce us to think that the two purāna-s had nothing in common Had we only the purānic *parampara-s* we would arrive at a conclusion different from Kirfel's From them, indeed, it appears that the Vāyu purāna was distinct from the Brahmānda and then it was assimilated to it under the influence of a strong current of purānic systematizers active in the Brahmānda purāna This consideration seems sufficient to prove, then, that the actual purānic *parampara-s* of the Vāyu and the Brahmānda were not present in the original purāna and that they were introduced slowly first in Brahmānda and later in the Vāyu Their presence in purāna-s, which have a great part of their text identical, shows that the split into two different purāna-s of the original one took place mainly under the influence of different traditions The lists of *parampara* simply reproduce and bear witness to the fact It seems even that we can deduce something more In fact, in the four passages above mentioned, the *paramparā* (and perhaps, then, also the text) of the Vāyu purāna is definitely settled, while the *paramparā* of the Brahmānda is still in the process of transformation The lists, therefore, seem to witness the very moment of the split of the single purāna into two, in fact one of them, the Brahmānda, is still under transformation.

The purānic *parampara* then, as we have examined it, has proved to be very useful in understanding some purānic facts Through it, indeed, we move discovered an unsuspected structure of the purāna-s According to the purānic authors themselves the actual purāna-s are in fact *samhitā-s* of composite character They are the result of a long process of unification The ancient *purāṇākhyāna-s* of the vedic times increased and developed enormously The *rsi-s* were in the main responsible for this growth They took the matter from the vedic times or directly from a revealing deity

and in different places and in different times they handed it over from one generation to the other The Vyāsa-s who had been active as systematizers of the veda-s took over also the purāṇa-s They organized the several *purāṇasamhitā-s* available in different places into an organic body, the original purāṇa which had split into hundreds of rivulets was gathered again in eighteen big rivers The Bhārgava-s were very active in such work so as to constitute a link that joined Atharvans' vedic tradition with the *purāṇa-itihāsa* The *ṛṣi-s* who, in their turn, had been very active in ancient times, were reduced to the role of mere listeners from Vyāsa onwards In their place the Sūta-s, i. e the bards, introduced their own more popular poetical vein and extended the purāṇic tradition to all the classes of people The purāṇa-s which had received a strong systematization at the time of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and Romaharsana began again to increase their matter under the influence of time and place But the work done by the arrangers had to remain for ever The purāṇa-s will be only eighteen, because so it was fixed at the time of Vedavyāsa and disciples The *paramparā* alone will change so that each purāṇa can have different 'editions' according to the different traditions But slowly also this attention to the *paramparā* will disappear, the purāṇa-s will continue their process of growth without any fixed *paramparā* but only under the limits of the eighteen great boundaries fixed at the time of Vyāsa

PAITĀMAHA-YAJÑA AND THE ORIGIN OF SŪTAS AND MĀGADHAS ACCORDING TO VISNUPURĀNA

By

MADHUSUDAN M. PATHAK

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विष्णुपुराणानुसारत पृथोरुत्पत्ति. सूतस्य मागधस्य चोत्पत्तिर्विवेचिता । ऋषीणा पैतामहे यज्ञे वेनशरीरात् पृथोरुत्पत्तिर्जाता । सूतमागधाना चोत्पत्तिस्तस्मिन्नेवाहनि जाता । सूत-मागधौ स्तुतिकर्माणि नियुक्तौ । निषादानामपि चोत्पत्तिर्वेनशरीरत एव सजाता । एतत्सर्वं लेखकेन वर्णितम् । अश्वमेधयज्ञमेव पैतमहयज्ञ-मित्यपि लेखकेनोहितम् ।]

The race of Sūtas is very highly celebrated in the Purānas They are widely known as the reciters of Itihāsa-Purānas i e the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and the eighteen Purānas

The Visnupurāna has a complete, detailed account of the origin of Sūtas

This has a reference to the episode of king Vena and Emperor Prthu

As it is narrated in Visnupurāna I 13, Vena was the son of king Anga and Sunīthā, the daughter of Mrtyu. The Purāna further tells that owing to the vices of the grand father, this son of Sunīthā viz, Vena became wicked He ordered that all the sacrifices in honour of several deities, which were being performed upto that time should be stopped and all the sacrifices should be performed in his honour as none else but he alone deserved the right to sacrificial share.[1] He declared that he was the Lord of sacrifices.

1. अभिषिक्तो यदा राज्ये स वेन. परमर्षिभि. ।
घोषयामास सं तदा पृथिव्या पृथिवीपतिः ॥
न यष्टव्य न दातव्य न होतव्य कथञ्चन ।
भोक्ता यज्ञस्य कस्त्वन्यो ह्यहं यज्ञपति प्रभु ॥
Visnupurāna (Gita press edition)
I 13.13-14.

On hearing this strange order from the king the sages said,[2] "O King, please hear what we say for the benefit of your own self, your subjects and your kingdom We will perform a long sacrifice in honour of Lord Hari, who is in fact the Lord of sacrifice, and as a fruit of such a sacrifice, He will descend in a partial incarnation at your place"

But this appeal of the sages fell flat on the ears of the arrogant and proud king He insisted that his orders must be carried out, and as a result the infuriated sages threw bladelike pieces of Kuśa and the king Vena collapsed together with his vanity Then as a sort of corollary to the execution of the king, there arise a great uproar among the people on account of their being dragged to the position where there was no king to rule over them The sages thought for a while as to how that gap should be filled in They churned the left arm of the deceased king, and out of it a dwarfish, black person sprang up, who resembled a charred trunk of a tree and having a small face He asked the sage as to what he was expected to do The sages asked him to sit down (ni ṣīda) and hence he was called Niṣāda.[3]

The information supplied here by Viṣṇupurāṇa I 13 33-36 is very important from the cultural point of view It contains a clear reference to the origin and habitat of the aboriginal people of India The name Niṣāda is explained here in quite unequivocal terms It appears that the word is derived from नि + √सद् which

2. भो भो राजन् श्रृणुष्व त्व यद्वदाम महीपते ।
राज्यदेहोपकाराय प्रजाना च हित परम् ॥
दीर्घसत्रेण देवेश सर्वयज्ञेश्वर हरिम् ।
पूजयिष्याम भद्रं ते तस्याशस्ते भविष्यति ॥
Viṣṇupurāṇa I 13 16-17

3 ततः समभ्य ते सर्वे मुनयस्तस्य भूभृत ।
ममन्थुरूरु पुत्रार्थमनपत्यस्य यत्नतः ॥
मध्यमानात्समुत्तस्थौ तस्योरो पुरुष किल ।
दग्धस्थूणाप्रतीकाश खर्वाटास्योऽतिह्रस्वकः ॥
किं करोमीति तान्सर्वान्स विप्रानाह चातुरः ।
निषीदेति तमूचुस्ते निषादस्तेन सोऽभवत् ॥
ततस्तत्सम्भवा जाता विन्ध्यशैलनिवासिन. ।
निषादा मुनिशाद्ूँल पापकर्मोपलक्षणाः ॥
Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 13 33-36

means 'to sit' He was ordered by the sages to sit down, as they might have felt that the fellow was entirely useless and it was not worth their while to take any work from him. Further the Purāna narrates that the Niṣādas residing on the hilly regions of Vindhya mountain were the descendants of that primal Niṣāda who was produced from the churning of the left arm of the corpse of king Vena It is further said that all the evil elements of Vena thus got out of his form, in the shape of Niṣāda His body became pure, and when after that the sages churned the right arm of the dead king, Prthu was born Of course here it is not quite easy to nod in affirmation at this fantastic account of birth of Prthu given by Viṣnupurāna It is a matter of serious medical research to decide as to how such a process of procreation can be feasible For our purpose it is sufficient to take for granted that Prthu was thus born out of the body of his father, and thus he was a posthumus child

The sages went on with their sacrificial session

Prthu was anointed and his coronation ceremony was performed on the same day in presence of Brahmā and several other sages There was a mark of the discus (Cakra) of Viṣnu on t e right palm of Prthu This was a sufficient proof for his being a partial incarnation of Lord Viṣnu[4] This mark of the discus of Śrī Lord Viṣnu is found on the palm of every universal emperor, and the efficacy of this mark is such that he becomes unvanquishable even by gods

This remark of Viṣnupurāna is important from the cultural point of view and it describes a mark on the human body and its efficacy too

Now it is stated in this very context that just as Prthu was born during the Paitāmaha sacrifice, similarly on the day when Soma is pressed, Sūta and Māgadha were also born [5] Sūta was born on the ground where Soma was being pressed

4. हस्ते तु दक्षिणे चक्रं दृष्ट्वा तस्य पितामहः ।
विष्णोरंशं पृथुं मत्वा परितोषं परं ययौ ॥
विष्णुचक्रं करे चिह्नं सर्वेषां चक्रवर्तिनाम् ।
भवत्यव्याहतो यस्य प्रभावस्त्रिदशैरपि ॥
Viṣnupurāna I 13 45-46

5 तस्य वै जातमात्रस्य यज्ञे पैतामहे शुभे ।
सूतः सूत्या समुत्पन्नः सौत्येऽहनि महामतिः ॥
तस्मिन्नेव महायज्ञे जज्ञे प्राज्ञोऽथ मागधः ॥
Viṣnupurāna I.13.51-52

The sages told these Sūta and Māgadha to sing the eulogy of king Prthu They also said that it was the most proper work for both of them

This command of the sages created a difficulty for Sūta and Māgadha King Prthu was born on the same day, and so it was difficult for them to sing his eulogy as his exploits and adventures were not known to them To this the sages replied that they might sing his praise as a powerful benevolent emperor, keeping his good qualities in mind [6] That is to say they were asked to sing about the future qualities and merits of the king

Here also there is a glaring discrepancy Just as Prthu was born on that day, these Sūta and Māgadha were also born on the same day So how was it that they were asked to compose the eulogy of king Prthu when their age was of some hours only ? Looking to the present stage of knowledge it is difficult to decide about this point, it can be settled only when a complete critical edition of this Purāna is brought out It is a happy thing that the project of preparing a critical edition of this Purāna is under progress at the Oriental Institute, Baroda

This whole account is narrated and discussed at length by by Dr R C Hazra in his introduction to the translation of Vishnu purāna by H H Wilson [7] He writes "From this story it is evident that in early days the Sūta and the Māgadha, like the journalists of the present age, played a very important role in keeping the powerful rulers constantly alive to the merits and defects of their administration and thus worked as a great check on their activities In fact, they were the kingmakers in as much as they constantly reminded the kings of the many virtues they were to possess and the kings, on their part, always bore in mind the high ideals for attaining success in administration But the function of the Sūta and Māgadha seems to have changed in later times with the deterioration of their position in society In Kautilya's Arthasāstra

6 करिष्यत्येष यत्कर्म चक्रवर्ती महाबल ।
गुणा भविष्या ये चास्य तेरय स्तूयता नृप ॥
Vishnupurāna I 13-56

7. Hazra R C Introduction p e Vishnu purāna a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition Punthi Pustak Calcutta, 4, 1961.

(V 3, XIII 1) we find the "Paurānika, Sūta and Māgadha" as given a very high position in the royal court like the Kārtāntika (foreteller), Naimittika (reader of omens), Maurutika (astrologer) and others and allowed to draw a salary of one thousand Panas, but they are said to have been employed for giving wide publicity to the power of the king to associate with gods throughout his territory, and, in foreign countries, for spreading the news of gods appearing before the conqueror and of his having received weapons and treasure from heaven This statement of Kautilya shows that in his days the Paurānika, Sūta and Māgadha, were still connected with politics and required to help their king in maintaining internal peace and order and external grip But in later times there was further deterioration in the position of Sūtas and Māgadhas, who came to be looked upon merely as wandering bards reciting the Purānas for the spread of the composite Dharma professed by these works but having no state support or claim for Vedic study "

From the above discussion it can be easily understood that the birth of King Prthu and the origin of the Sūta and Māgadha took place during the sacrificial session of the Paitāmaha Yajña So it is worthwhile to know what is meant by Paitāmaha Yajña ?

Dr R C Hazra, while elaborating the point further writes, "from a study of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Manusmrti and the Purānas we learn that the Vedic god Prajāpati, who was regarded as the father of creation and as Svayambhū (self-born), came later to be identified with god Brahmā, the creator As the nine mind-born sons of this god (Brahmā) were entrusted by their father with the work of creation, they came to be known as "nine Brahmās" (nava Brahmānah) and consequently the original Brahmā was called 'Pitāmaha' (grand-father) in relation to the created beings Now, in the Taittiriya brāhmana, Śatapatha Brāhmana, and some other works of the Vedic literature we are told the horse (asva) originated from Prajāpati's eye which had swollen (asvayat) and had consequently been discarded by him, that it was Prajāpati who produced all the sacrifices including Asvamedha, and that after creating these sacrifices he assigned them to relevant gods but kept the Asvamedha for himself So there is little scope for doubt that it was the Asvamedha (Horse sacrifice) which, being thus a Prājāpatya Yajña was also called Paitāmaha Yajña This identification

8 Ibid p c

of the Asvamedha sacrifice with the 'Paitāmaha Yajña' finds strong support in a statement of the Visnudharmottara, an early work of the 5th Century A D, in which the ancient Paitāmaha Yajña, from which the Paurānika Sūta sprang up, has been called 'Hayamedha' in the following verse

tasya paitāmahe yajñe hayamedhe purātane /
āptoryāmasya sūtyehni sūte jātah parantapa //
(Visnudharmottara I 109. 13b-14a)[9]

This detailed discussion about the identification of Paitāmahi sacrifice presented by Dr R C. Hazra, supplies a necessary clue to the comprehension of the form of that sacrifice as well as the origin of the myth of the birth of Sūta

But at the end of this discussion he writes, "Consequently the statements made in the said story of the Visnu purāna are wrong and were clearly due to a confusion arising from want of knowledge about the actual meaning of the term 'Paitāmaha Yajña'.

This statement of Dr R C Hazra seems to be ambiguous as he has not referred here as to which statements of Visnupurāna occurring in the context of the story of the birth of Prthu and Sūta and Māgadha are wrong Under these circumstances his affirmation that all the statements of Visnupurāna in this context are wrong seems to be an outcome of hypercriticism on his part.

9. Ibid, p. f.

THE BEHEADING OF GANEŚA

By

PAUL B COURTRIGHT

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे भगवतो गणेशस्य शीर्षच्छेदस्य हस्तिशिर स्थापनस्य च कथाया विवेचन विविधपुराणानामाधारेण प्रस्तुतम् । पुराणेषु अन्येषु च हिन्दुग्रन्थेषु भगवान् गणेशो विघ्नविनाशको सर्वविधमङ्गलप्रदायकश्च वर्णित । भगवता शिवेन केनचित्कारणेन तस्य शिर च्छेद कृत तस्य स्थाने गजस्य शिर स्थापितम् । अत्र आसा कथ.ना विवरण प्रदायानेकविधसमाधान कल्पितम् ।]

Ganesa is the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Pārvatī He is the leader of Śiva's attendants, or ganas, from which he derives his name He is the bestower of success and the destroyer of obstacles that threaten the auspicious completion of any undertaking He is the guardian of the temple threshold, the deity who is to be worshipped before all others in rites and at the outset of new actions He is the popular lord of practical life, a childish, tricksterish, yet formidable character

Ganesa's most distinctive characteristic is his elephant head It is the subject of a number of myths in the Purānas, as well as many tales in the folklore of Hinduism How did he acquire such a curious form ? How does his elephant head, and the events which lie behind his receiving it, contribute to his meaning as a religious *persona* in the Hindu pantheon ?

The broad outlines of Ganesa's story are familiar He gained his elephant head because Śiva, in a moment of anger when Ganesa blocked the door and prevented him from gaining entrance into Pārvatī's bath, cut off his head and, at the importuning of Pārvatī, replaced his severed head with that of an elephant Thence he came to be recognized as the lord of Śiva's troops and the deity to be worshipped for the overcoming of obstacles

The mythology of Ganesa's beheading has prompted some to see striking similarities and differences with the myth of Oedipus The central event of the myth, the beheading and restoration, is a frequent one in other Hindu myths and draws upon the ancient

Indian sacrificial tradition for its force and meaning. The figure of the beheaded and restored Gaṇeśa, the mutilated son of Śiva and Pārvatī, is among the most popular of Hindu deities, a popularity which may, in part, derive from his role as a mediating figure between his mother and father and as an advocate who assists the devotee in the successful resolution of undertakings. The purpose of our inquiry here is to explore the meanings of Gaṇeśa as a mythological and religious figure through the analysis of a number of myths in which his story is told.

Gaṇeśa loses his head and gains an elephant's head

Gaṇeśa makes his appearance in the post-Epic period and a number of Purāṇic stories give varying accounts of his birth and beheading. One version has it that Śiva made him by combining the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water, in order to create a being who would help the gods and brahmins remove obstacles from their undertakings just as the demons had them removed from theirs (*Varāha Purāṇa* 23.2-14). Others say that Pārvatī made Gaṇeśa by rubbing the surface of her limbs and bringing into being a child out of that substance in order to amuse herself (*Matsya Purāṇa* 145.500-505, *Padma Purāṇa*, Śṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, 45.444, *Skanda Purāṇa* 6.214.4-5, *Vāmana Purāṇa* (Venk. 28.56-59), and still others tell of how she made Gaṇeśa out of her bodily dirt in order to protect the privacy of her bath from Śiva's intrusions (*Śiva Purāṇa* 2.4.13.14-26, *Skanda Purāṇa* 3.2.12.10-14). The means and material out of which Gaṇeśa is created vary among the different variants of the myth, yet one theme remains constant throughout, Gaṇeśa's appearance in the world is not the result of Śiva and Pārvatī's sexual union. Such a union would bring disaster, as the gods tell Indra, "If their sexual intercourse were to be completed, that child which would be born as a result of their union would be imperishable." (*Vāmana Purāṇa* 28.35). Indeed, as Śiva explains to Pārvatī, he has no need for children, "I am not a householder, so I have no use for a son. Householders need sons and wealth, a wife is necessary for him in order to have sons, and sons are necessary to give offerings to the ancestors. But I am not subject to death, so I have no need for a son." (*Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* 2.60.10-14). Hence, Gaṇeśa's birth, like that of his brother Skanda, takes place by unnatural means from one or another of his parents.

Most of the variants of Ganeśa's birth and beheading link the two events closely together. Ganeśa is no sooner made than he is mutilated. The linkage of the symbolism of birth, beheading, and restoration is necessary in order for the figure of Ganeśa to work as a religious symbol. In the midst of these stories, we find themes of incestual desires, symbolic castration, oedipal conflict, mediation of oppositions, and initiatory symbolism. But we are getting ahead of the story. We must first consider the myths themselves in greater detail.

According to the account in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, the gods appealed to Śiva to create a being who would remove obstacles from their efforts and place them in the way of the demons. After reflecting on what form such a being might take, Śiva combines the elements earth, air, fire, and water, infusing them with his own divine energy [*tejas*]:

> Then a glorious creature took form having a blazing face, illuminating all the directions, a great youth. Endowed with all the qualities of the great lord (Śiva) himself, he was like another Rudra incarnate. As soon as he was born he captivated the gods with his beauty, radiance, form and shape, this noble one. Seeing the supreme form of this noble child, Umā looked at him with an unblinking eye. Then the lord, seeing the fickleness which is the natural condition of women, became angry, thinking that the beautiful form of the youth was deluding to the eyes. So he cursed the god Ganeśa saying, 'O little boy, you will have an elephant's head and a pot belly. Your sacred thread will be made of snakes.' Thus he cursed him, being overcome by sharp anger. (*Varāha Purāna* 23.10-19)

In this myth Śiva creates Ganeśa as a favour to the gods without any participation on Pārvatī's part. The text stresses that Ganeśa was identical to Śiva in appearance. He only gets into trouble when Pārvatī looks at him "with an unblinking eye", that is, when she is unable to take her eyes off him, regarding him in a lustful, incestuous manner. When Śiva realizes that in creating a double he has created a rival, he curses him to be one who has an elephant's head and pot belly. The transfer of head constitutes at least an implicit beheading.

Another version of this myth appears in a translation by Vans Kennedy, which he attributes to the same source although it does not appear in either the Bibliotheca Indica or Ānandāśrama editions Kennedy's version reverses the key elements in the myth

> Śiva looked at Pārvatī, and whilst thinking how he could effect the wishes of the gods, from the splendour of his countenance there sprang into existence a youth shedding radiance all around, endowed with the qualities of Śiva, and evidently another Rudra, and captivating by his beauty the female inhabitants of heaven Umā, seeing his beauty, was excited with jealousy, and in her anger pronounced this curse, 'Thou shalt not offend my sight with the form of a beautiful youth, and therefore assume an elephant's head and a large belly, and thus shall all thy beauties vanish' (Vans Kennedy, *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology* (London 1831), p 353)

In this version it is Pārvatī who curses Ganeśa to have the elephant's head because she is jealous of his erotic appeal to the other females in heaven Here she is the one facing the rivalry rather than Śiva The hint of incestual feelings we saw in the previous myth seems to be obscured in this variant by the ferocity of Pārvatī's response to Ganeśa's beauty Behind the reversal of these two myths lies the common theme Ganeśa's appearance is problematic to his parents from the outset and he poses a danger for the very persons for whom he ought to be a blessing

A more well-known myth of Ganeśa's birth and beheading elaborates the theme of the erotic appeal of the son to his mother and the jealousy of the father The violence from the father to the son, which is muted in the first myth we considered, and absent in the second, is made explicit here The story is as follows

> Once while Pārvatī was scrubbing her limbs and looking at the dirt which had come out from the scrubbing, she took it in her hand and from it she made an image *[pratimā]* and saw that it was very beautiful When she had endowed him with life *[jiva]* he stood up in front of her and asked his mother, 'What shall I do according to your instruction?' Pārvatī said, 'When I take my bath, you stand in the doorway, taking your axe and other weapons As long as you

remain in the doorway, make sure there is no obstacle to my bathing.' When he had been instructed in this way by the great goddess, he stood in the doorway with all his weapons

At that moment the great lord Śiva arrived there, and he had it in his mind to enter the house Ganesa, who was standing in the doorway, did not allow him to enter Then the great lord became angry and they started to fight with one another. As both of them engaged in battle, each wanted to kill the other Ganesa struck the great lord with his axe, and then the great lord, raising his trident, struck him and cut off his head which fell to the ground When Ganesa collapsed on the ground there arose a great lamentation throughout the world When Śiva saw that Pārvatī was so bereaved by this the great lord thought to himself, 'What have I done?'

Just at that moment he saw the elephant demon, Gajāsura, there Seeing him, he struck off his head and made the child whom Pārvatī had created arise along with the other attendants [*ganas*] who were standing around him Then he gave him the name Gajānana, the Elephant-Headed One, and all the gods and sages who were assembled there were elated and praised him (*Skanda purāna* 3 2 12 10-24, see also *Śiva purāna* 2 4 13-20).

In this myth we find a number of important additional elements, the setting of the myth in Pārvatī's bath and its doorway, Ganesa's creation from the substance rubbed off Pārvatī's body, and the conflict in the doorway between Śiva and Ganeśa. The setting in the bath introduces the theme of nakedness and sexuality—most bathing scenes in Hindu mythology take place in rivers and we can interpret the material out of which Ganesa is created as a form of Pārvatī's seed, or perhaps she makes Ganesa out of dirt much the way his images are made from mud for use in his annual festival By stationing Ganeśa in the doorway to her bath, she gives him privileged access to her nakedness, and as the story continues, denies it to Śiva. The violence perpetrated upon Ganesa by Śiva is explicit, but even here it is muted to a certain extent by the fact that Śiva was unaware that Ganeśa was any more than an insignificant servant, It is only when he sees Pārvatī's reaction that it dawns on

him he has done anything wrong Then he attempts to put things back together, so to speak, but in a rather ad hoc manner The myth draws upon another story in which Śiva defeats the elephant demon and takes his head and skin as a garment (*Brahmānda Purāna* 4 27 98-191, *Śiva Purāna* 2 5 57, *Skanda Purāna* 4.2 68).

Śiva's aggression toward Ganesa apparently creates difficulties for the mythographers as much as it does for Pārvatī, for a number of variants of the myth attempt to transfer the onus of Ganesa's beheading away from Śiva and place it elsewhere In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāna*, the story appears dressed in Vaisnava clothing At the moment in which Śiva and Pārvatī are making love they are interrupted by Krsna, who is disguised as a brahmin mendicant As they offer him hospitality, he disappears and reappears in the form of an infant lying in their bed Then Śiva and Pārvatī, astonished by the turn of events, bring the child for the inhabitants of heaven to see, and the god Śani, the inauspicious lord of suicides, appears to pay his respects But Śani refuses to look at the child, saying to Pārvatī that he is under a curse from his wife that anything he looked at would be destroyed She had cursed him because he had failed to make love with her during her period of fertility, preferring instead to practice asceticism Pārvatī and all the heavenly maidens laugh at Śani's story and she insists he look at her child

> At that instant Śani's glance severed the child's head The headless body lay in Pārvatī's lap covered with blood and the head went immediately to Goloka and merged with Krsna (*Brahmavaivarta Purāna* 3 11 10ff)

The story continues that Visnu came to the rescue by going to the north and taking the head from the king of the elephants (Gajendra) as he lay faint from sexual exhaustion He returns with the elephant head and places it on the shoulders of the child, and Pārvatī revives him She then curses Śani to be a cripple, and only after the gods plead with her to be merciful because she insisted Śani look at her child even after he warned her about his curse does she modify her earlier action and render him merely lame.

In this version of the story we see the act of beheading shifted from Śiva to Śani, though destruction through the use of the eyes is one of Śiva's favorites, as when he destroys Kāma or beheads

Daksa with his third eye But even Śani is relieved of the burden of blame to some extent, since he was acting under a curse and Pārvatī demanded he look at Ganesa By passing the act of beheading from Śiva to Śani and introducing the story of the curse and Pārvatī's insistence, the myth diffuses the blame for the act and mutes the father-son conflict, which was more apparent in the earlier myth Finally, by placing the whole story in the context of Ganesa as an *avatāra* of Krsna and having Visnu be the one to restore Ganesa with the elephant head, Śiva's role as father/aggressor is further blurred

This same myth is built upon in another variant. Here Śiva creates Ganesa out of a piece of Pārvatī sari in order to compensate her for not conceiving a child with her in the normal manner She brings the child to life and holds him to her breast Śiva, seeing her love for the child, says

> 'Goddess, I gave you a son made out of cloth to tease you, but he became a true son by your good fortune What is this miracle? Give him to me and let me see, he has indeed become a real son, but his body was made out of cloth, when did life enter it?' As he said this, Śambhu, the lord of the mountain, took his son in hand and laid him down, and he looked at him carefully and minutely, inspecting all his limbs with an accurate scrutiny But then, remembering the flaw of his birth, Śankara said to the goddess Pārvatī, 'This son of yours was born with an injury wrought by the planet of suicides, and therefore your son will not live fore a long time, but in a very short time an auspicious death will come to this short-lived son The death of one who has acquired virtues causes the greatest sorrow' As Śambhu, the maker of the child, said this, the boy's head, which was pointed toward the north, fell from Śiva's hand. (*Brhaddharma Purana* 2.60.35-41 trans. by Wendy O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths* (New York 1975), p 265).

In this myth, the story of Śani's curse is used to make Ganeśa's beheading inevitable and get Śiva off the hook As the myth continues, it is Nandin who travels off to the north and fights Indra for his elephant vehicle, Airāvata, whom he beheads and brings back to Śiva, who, in turn, places it on the shoulders of Ganesa. In this version, Śiva emerges as the one who brings

Ganesa back to life as the elephant-headed one At the conlusion of the story he gives Ganesa dominion over his *ganas* and Ganesa grows up to become a great ascetic

One final myth deserves comment in this context, because it introduces some additional important variations It is the story of Ganeśa's battle with Parasurāma In this version Ganeśa stands guards at the door to Śiva and Pārvatī's bedroom as they are inside making love Parasurāma arrives fresh from his defeat of the sons of Kārtavīrya made possible by the magic axe which Śiva had given him Ganesa refuses him entrance to their bedroom, arguing that it is bad karma for anyone to see others making love Paraśurāma insists on entering, and a battle ensues Enraged, Parasurāma prepares to throw his axe

> When Ganesa saw that the axe was the same one which his father had given to Parasurāma, and not wanting it to be thrown in vain, he received the blow from the axe on his left tusk When the axe broke his tusk it fell to the ground, drenched in blood like a mountain struck by lightning All the earth along with the oceans and islands were shattered by the falling of the tusk, and they began to shake in fear. When Śiva and Pārvatī heard all the noise they came and saw Gaṇesa whose trunk was twisted and he had only one tusk. Pārvatī asked Skanda what had happened, and he told her everything in front of Parasurāma She became angry and said to Śiva. 'This Parasurāma, your disciple, has become like a son to you Earlier he had gotten lustrous armor and weapons from you which made him able to conquer the triple world Now he has completed this conquest and brought you an offering *(dakṣinā)* in the form of the tooth of your son No doubt you will appreciate this Now protect this best pupil of yours, you are his great *guru* and he will do all your chores around the house As for me, I am no longer in your favor and I will not stay here I will take my two sons (Skanda and Ganesa) and go to my father's house Good people treat even the son of a slave as their own son, but you have said nothing on behalf of your son'
>
> (*Brahmānda-Purāna* 2 3 42 3—2 3 43 17)

This version replaces the beheading with the breaking of the tusk. Paraśurāma replaces Śiva as Gaṇesa's antagonist at the

doorway But Śiva's aggressive role toward Ganesa survives in the story in the form of his magic axe and his refusal, apparently, to speak up on Ganeśa's behalf Pārvatī directs her anger not at Paraśurāma, but at Śiva

Gaṇeśa and Oedipus

In these myths a number of themes emerge common to all the variants we have considered birth from one parent followed by aggression from the other, conflict between Śiva and Pārvatī resulting from sexual jealousy, and, at least in most cases, resolution of the conflict by restoration of Ganeśa with the head of an elephant and dominion over Śiva's *ganas* It is primarily on the basis of the themes of father/son aggression, mother/son attraction, and mutilation that the parallels with the myth of Oedipus are so intriguing

The classical oedipal situation of aggression directed to the father by the son, and incestual desire from the son to the mother, is rearranged in our myth Here we have erotic desire between mother and son thwarted by the aggression of the father or his surrogate, followed by alienation between father and mother, followed by restoration of the son in a deformed and non-erotic manner With the son being made heir to the father's power (but not his erotic power), and reunited in an acceptable manner with the mother in the form of the celibate leader of the *ganas*

If we take Ganeśa's beheading and de-tusking to be symbolic castrations, as Leach[1], O'Flaherty[2], Goldman[3], and others have, then it would appear we have a reversal of the classical Oedipus story the father destroys the son in order to prevent an incestuous relationship between the mother and son, yet the father rehabilitates the son in a mutilated and ascetic form which reconciles him with the mother and himself Insofar as myths give imaginative form to unconscious projections of culture, the myth would seem to say :

1. Edmund Leach, "Pulliyar and the Lord Buddha Aspects of Religious Syncretism in Ceylon," *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review*, 49 (1962), pp 80-102.
2. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (London Oxford University Press, 1973) pp 211-12
3. Robert Goldman, "Fathers, Sons and Gurus : Oedipal Conflict in the Sanskrit Epics," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6/4 (Dec. 1978) pp. 371-72

mother's love for sons is dangerous, potentially excessive and incestuous Fathers must cut their sons off from their mothers, not destroying them but transforming them into non erotic defenders of culture The erotic dimension is not eliminated, for Ganesa receives a compensatory phallus in the form of the elephant trunk, but it is transformed through asceticism into power to clear away the obstacles which adhārmic desires place in one's way

Ganesa can take his proper place in the pantheon only after he has confronted his father by identifying with his mother, and subsequently defeated in that confrontation and rehabilitated in such a way as to leave him empowered and reconcile the conflicts between all concerned

But, lest we leave Śiva to carry all the blame for Ganesa's beheading/castration, let us take another look at Pārvatī's role Some of the myths give her a devious part to pay Once she has created him she places him in jeopardy either by making him guard the doorway to her bath, by insisting that Śani look at him even though she knows about the curse, or by cursing him herself Conversely, although Śiva or his surrogates are the explicit aggressors toward Ganesa, they are so either unwittingly or under conditions of duress This more subtle level of the myth would suggest Pārvatī plays a more ambivalent role in the story than we might have thought She becomes an accomplice in her son's symbolic castration Kakar has suggested that the myth expresses the infantile fear of castration by the "bad mother" (Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World* (New Delhi 1978), p 100ff) The restitution of Ganesa commits him to the sacrifice of his male 'otherness,' his ego While Ganesa is compensated for his pains with an enlarged *linga*, he nevertheless remains chaste Even in the story of his marriage or his consorts, it is clear that these feminine figures are śaktic emanations and not erotic figures with whom he has sexual relations Indeed, one Maharashtrian folktale has it that the reason Ganesa never married is that he has never found a wife as beautiful as his mother (Edward Moor, *Hindu pantheon* (London, 1810,, p 100) So, the incestual element remains, in a disguised and legitimate form, in Ganesa as the elephant-headed, celibate son

Parvati knows she will not get a son from Śiva in the normal manner, so she must trick him into giving her a son by making a child by herself whom she places in conflict with him, and, after

Śiva has destroyed him, she forces him to restore the son on pain of separation The myth of Ganesa's birth and beheading takes us to the center of the conflict between eroticism and asceticism in Indian culture The mother makes the son, with the unwilling participation of the ascetically-inclined father, and looks to him as a source of forbidden erotic pleasure, yet she must repress this by rendering him safe She does this by conspiring unconsciously, as it were, with the father to mutilate the child and rehabilitate him in a form which is simultaneously non-erotic but powerful and protective As a mythic figure, Ganesa emerges as a mediating, liminal, character He serves to separate and unite his parents He is Śiva's son, but only by virtue of adoption, he is Pārvatī's son, but only partly for now he owes his head—the locus of action, knowledge and speech—to his father. He has been defeated by his father (sacrificed to the super-ego father represents), but he has been restored and legitimized by that same father He is mutilated and asexual, yet he is powerful and no actions can be brought to fruition without his help Behind this incongruous image of the elephant-faced child god, a fundamental psychological and cultural paradox is displayed and mediated

A ritual analogue the upanayana ceremony

The myth of Ganesa can also be read to reflect an initiatory structure We can see this by comparing the transformation of relations which take place in the myth with those which occur in the *upanayana saṃskāra*, the rite of passage for twice-born Hindu males whereby they are placed in the care of a religious teacher [*ācārya*] and attain the status of *brahmācārin*.[4] This rite can be briefly summarized as follows the boy who is to be initiated shares a final meal with his mother, after which he is bathed, his head shaved, and dressed in the loin cloth of an ascetic He then utters vows of commitment to be obedient to his teacher and promises to remain chaste until he has completed his period of apprenticeship The teacher then invests him with the sacred thread, gives him a

4 *Sāṃkhyāna Grhya Sūtra* 1 1 1ff, *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* 1 20ff, *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra* 1 2 17ff, *Śatapatha Brāhmana* 11 5 4 1-18 See also R B Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras* (New Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1969 rp), Jan Gonda, *Continuity and Change in Indian Religion* (The Hague . Mouton, 1965), Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-Born* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1920).

yogin's staff, instructs him in sacred speech [*mantra*], and teaches him how to kindle the sacred fire Finally, the initiate makes a symbolic pilgrimage to Kāśī and returns home this time to beg from his mother in the manner of ascetics

In both the *upanayana* rite and the myth of Ganeśa we begin with the son and mother sharing a private relationship Ganeśa the playful creation of his mother, and the boy receiving food directly from his mother apart from the elder males of the household The father, or father surrogate—in the case of the rite it is the teacher—cuts him away from the bonding with the mother through removing the head or shaving it, both actions serving to remove his erotically threating potential The father figure then gives the child a name, an emblem of power transformed from infantile-erotic to ascetic in the forms of the elephant head and the yogin's staff—each of which can be seen as a kind of detached phallus Then the father gives the son his paternal inheritance, for Ganeśa it is the lordship over obstacles, and for the *brahmācārin* it is the inheritance of sacred knowledge and access to it through sacred, mantric speech Finally, the boy is returned to the mother, but now at a chaste and safe distance—out of reach of any incestuous longings from either The violence of separation of the son from the mother, which in the myth is vividly portrayed although the identity of the perpetrator of it is disguised in various ways, in the ritual is even more obscured In the rite we do not see an elaborate battle scene acted symbolically between the son and the father or his surrogate But when the boy moves from eating with his mother and crosses the threshold to where the male elders receive him and render him naked, shaved, and redressed and remade, so to speak, in the image of the ideal of *brahmācārya*, we can see that an implicit dismemberment takes place even in the ritual Because the ritual concentrates on the transformation which takes place in the boy, the conflict between the mother and father and the incestual potential between the mother and son, which was so apparent in the myth, is submerged in the rite

What is common to the myth and the ritual is its initiatory structure The process of creation, mutilation and restoration at hands of the father—at least according to most of the variants—and the empowerment in the context of the ascetic ideal, is a process which Ganeśa and the initiate share Insofar as this rite of passage

articulates the transition from 'nature' to 'culture' in Levi-Strauss' sense of those terms, then Ganeśa belongs to the whole tradition as its premier, even heroic, embodiment of that primary transformation His story is every twice-born Hindu male's story. He is the protean figure, whose very form displays brokenness yet wholeness, the desire for children yet the dangers of children, and by undergoing this process of dismemberment and restoration he has the capacity to mediate the contradiction between maternal love and paternal rejection, maternal separation and paternal reconstitution. Out of that mediation comes his power to mediate, in the realm of action, between intention and consequence in his role as the lord of obstacles.

Toward the religious meaning of Gaṇeśa

Now a great deal more can and needs to be said about Ganesa and his particular mythic identity, than can be said here. There are additional dimensions to the symbolism of beheading and reheading which draw upon the Brahmanical ritual tradition going back to very early times There are comparisons to be explored between the ritual myth of the dismemberment and distribution of Puruṣa (*Ṛg Veda* 10 90) in which the body of the god serves as the universe itself Indeed, one Purāna even describes Ganesa's body as the universe (*Liṅga Purāṇa* 81 31-35) There are a number of other beheading stories, such as Indra's beheading of Namuci and Śiva's beheading of Daksa, which need to be explored, as well as other myths of mutilation and castration There is, of course, the symbolism of the elephant itself The elephant is that animal which is overpowering yet gracefully domesticated, which moves back the threshold between the wild forest and the settled village, and which serves as the principal piece of artillary in warfare just as his sculptural representations protect and uphold the temple boundaries against demons The elephant showers rain on Laksmi for her bath just as the elephant-like grey monsoon clouds bring the sustaining and destructive rains in their season In contrast to these aggressive and fecundating and perhaps masculine roles, the elephant carries strong feminine associations in Indian culture In the *Kāma Sūtra* (Ch 1) women are classified as deer, mare, or elephant according to the size of their *yonis* Manu advises the bridegroom to 'wed a female free from bodily defects, who has the gait of a goose [*haṃsa*] or an elephant' (*Manu* 3 10), and Bhartṛhari

imagines a beautiful woman as having thighs which rival the elephant's trunk. (Barbara Stoler Miller, *The Hermit and the Love Thief, Sanskrit Poems of Bhartrhari and Bilhana,* (New York 1978) p 87) So, the elephant appears in the Hindu context as a sexually ambiguous creature, and Ganesa, as the elephant-headed, celebate child, combines into his *persona* and appearance those oppositions of masculine and feminine, child and ascetic, broken and whole, overpowered and powerful

So what are we to make of this curious deity ? The myths of his origins and beheading carry multiple meanings, to be sure Through his appearance in myth and icon we see him as a figure brought into the world and a set of relations fraught with ambivalence We see him made, unmade and remade into a creature of great mediating power and popular appeal When we compare the initiation of Ganesa into his position as the lord of obstacles with that of the initiation of the twice born Hindu male, we see the ways in which the procession of god and man move along parallel routes In Ganesa there is to be found an important religious model, for he was the one who comforted and protected his mother, performed his appointed tasks [*dharma*], and underwent his misfortunes to re-emerge reconstituted with the power to remove all impediments which create suffering As Kakar suggests, 'he is the god for all psychic seasons ... who comes to represent a plurality of psychic propensities' (Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World,* p 101) In identifying with Ganesa, the devotee takes into himself the structure and process which Ganesa contains in his mythology and iconography For the devotee to undergo his own sacrificial surrender, and reconstitution, as Ganesa did, is to achieve a religious transcendence and release from a reality inadequately comprehended and lived As the Maharashtrian poet, Tukarām, put it, 'If we want to enjoy God, we should lop off our head from our body and hold it in our hands . . when the body has been sacrificed to God, says Tuka, all worship has been accomplished' (*Abhang* 3414, 3171)

A SURVEY OF SANSKRIT SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF VĀRĀNASĪ

By

DIANA L ECK

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुष्या लेखिकया पुराणेषु निबन्धग्रन्थेषु च वर्णितस्य काशीमाहात्म्यस्य विवरण प्रदत्तम् । वाराणस्या माहात्म्य पुराणेषु इतरग्रन्थेषु च व्यापकरूपेण वर्णित वर्तते । विविधनामभि ख्यातायाः अस्याः पुर्याः माहात्म्यप्रतिपादकाना तत्तद् ग्रन्थाना परिचय प्रामाण्य निर्माणकालादिकमत्र लेखिकया सक्षेपेण सकेतितम् । सक्षेपेण अत्र वाराणस्यास्तत्तद्ग्रन्थानामाधारेण विवरण प्रदत्तम् ।]

The city of Vārānasī—called Kāśī (The "Luminous"), Avimukta (The 'Never-Forsaken" of Śiva), Ānandavana (The "Forest of Bliss"), and Rudravāsa (The "Dwelling Place of Śiva)—has been described and praised in Sanskrit literature for over thousand years This is a survey of the major places in which the myths and hymns of the city occur particularly in the Purāṇic corpus and in the *nibandha* literature which gathers Purāṇic verses together topically in digest form

The genre of literature which will be discussed here may broadly be termed *māhātmya*— 'praise" or "glorification" The nature of this genre, which is found so prominently throughout the Epics and Purāṇas, has not yet been examined with the close scholarly attention it deserves While that is not the goal of this particular study, a brief statement about this type of literature may be useful There are many subjects of *māhātmya* A *māhātmya* may focus upon a place, such as Vārāṇasī, upon an auspicious time, such as the month of Śrāvana, a deity, such as Viśveśvara Śiva or a ritual activity, such as pilgrimage (*tīrthayātrā*) or the giving of donations (*dāna*) A *māhātmya* ordinarily contains description and exposition of the place, the deity, or the activity being praised, as well as laudatory hymns (*stutis* or *stotras*) and a statement of the benefits and fruits (*phalaśruti*) of visiting that place, honoring that ritual Each place, each deity, each observance is extolled and praised as if it were the greatest of all The nature of *māhātmya* thus calls to mind Max Muller's description of Vedic religion as

"kathenotheism"—praising and worshipping one god at a time. Likewise, there is but one subject of *māhātmya* at a time, and what is praised occupies full center-stage for its moment of recognition. The interpretation and understanding of *māhātmya*, therefore, requires the scholar to develop a suitable hermeneutic that takes into account its nature as a literature of high praise.

Of the many subjects in the *māhātmya* style in the Purāṇas, none is as vast as the subject of *tīrtha*, the sacred 'fords" or "crossings" which have long been the goal of pilgrims. And of these *tīrthas* none has been treated as extensively as the city of Vārāṇasī, or Kāśī. The *māhātmya* literature on Vārāṇasī found in a great number of Purāṇas, ranges in length from the one hundred chapters of the *Skanda Purāṇa's* famous *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* to one or two chapters in other Purāṇas. Some of the city's *māhātmyas* are very much like those of other *tīrthas*, while others stand out as the praises of Kāśī alone. Since this place is so broadly articulated as a *tīrtha* the investigation of the *mahātmyas* of this one place may well provide some significant insight into the nature and structure of *tīrthas* more generally.

Purāṇic Sources

The Kāśī Khaṇḍa. The *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* is the most celebrated and extensive of the Sanskrit Kāśī *māhātmyas*. It contains one hundred chapters and about 10,000 verses, making it about half as long as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is one of seven *Khaṇḍas*, "sections", of the present *Skanda Purāṇa*. Although it is technically part of this voluminous Purāṇa, the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* has also moved and been translated independently through the centuries, gaining fame, for example, in the Tamil south.[1]

The *Skanda* is the most immense of the Purāṇas, and its ungainly bulk seems to have shifted and changed somewhat over the centuries. The present version of seven *khaṇḍas* was also once divided into six *saṃhitās*. In the *saṃhitā* version, the *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā* was the longest, and it included the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* as one of its twenty-five *khaṇḍas*.[2]

1 See V. Raghavan, "Tamil Versions of the Purāṇas," *Purāṇa*, Vol II, Nos 1 and 2, July 1960

2. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, University of Dacca, Bulletin No. XX, 1940 pp. 159-160

The date of the *Kāśī Khanda* is uncertain Laksmīdhara, writing the *Tīrthavivecana Kānda* in the twelfth century, included verses of a *Skanda Purāna māhātmya* in his compilation of verses on Kāśī, however, he does not mention the *Kāśī Khanda* by name and the passages of the *Skanda* he quotes do not correspond to any part of the present *Kāśī Khanda* All that is known, therefore, is that Laksmidhara had access to a section on Kāśī from the *Skanda Purāna* Later compilers of digests, such as Mitra Misra, Vācaspati Misra, and Nārāyana Bhatta, do cite the Kāśī Khanda by name, however Having examined the passages they cite, Hazra concludes very generally that much of the *Kāśī Khanda* is older than 1300 and that very little of it could be considered earlier than 700[3]

Other scholars have also conjectured as to the era of this work H H Wilson wrote, "There is every reason to believe the greater part of the contents of the *Kāśī Khanda* anterior to the first attack upon Banāras by Mahmud of Ghazni "[4] FitzEdward Hall challenged Wilson's assertion, writing caustically "It would be interesting to be put in possession of a single reason out of those to which the Professor alludes "[5] Hall, however, does not venture an alternative dating

The modern scholar, Kuber Nath Sukul, also doubts a very early date for the work Sukul conjectures that the *Kāśī Khanda* was set down in its present form not before, but after the early Muslim incursions According to Sukul, this would be not simply after the early eleventh century incursions of Mahmud of Ghazni, which could scarcely be considered anything more than raids, but after the more serious attacks of the forces of Mahmud of Ghur, which brought about the downfall of the Gāhadavāla dynasty in the late twelfth century He ascribes the complete *Kāśī Khanda* to about 1350, citing the evidence of the text itself in which both old and new locations of certain shrines are mentioned [6] The new

3 Hazra, pp. 165, 326

4 Horace Hayman Wilson, *The Visnu Purāna A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*, 1840 Reprint of 3rd edition, Calcutta Punthi Pustak, 1972, pp xliv-xlv

5 FitzEdward Hall, Preface to M A. Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus An Account of Banaras in Ancient and Modern Times*, London Trubner and Co , 1868, p xxxii

6. Kuber Nath Sukul, *Vārānasī Vaibhava*, Patna Bihār Rāstrabhāsā Parisad, 1977, pp 278-279

locations of course, would be the sites where those shrines were re-established after their destruction The *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* was set down, according to Sukul, by way of 'summing up what was there in Kāśī before "[7]

It is clear that if that *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* had been available, even in part, in Lakṣmīdhara's day he certainly would have known it and utilized it in his digest After all he lived much of his life in Vārāṇasī Along with Gāhaḍavāla patrons, he regarded Kāśī highly as both a political and religious center On the other hand, it seems to this writer unlikely that the literary care and attention lavished upon the many shrines of Kāśī would have arisen from the era of ruin and debilitation that followed the attack of Mahmud of Ghuzni's general Qutb-ud-din-Aibak in 1194 The *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* makes no mention of Muslim invaders or the destruction of holy sites It seems plausible, therefore, that much of the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* came into existence during the brilliant era of the revivalist Hindu empire of the Gāhaḍavālas, even though its final compilation may have been later In Lakṣmīdhara's time the work would have been in process of formulation and, thus, too new to have been included in his digest The heyday of the Gāhaḍavāla empire, however, would have been the natural climate for the growth of such an extensive eulogy to Kāśī, even if its completed form came later

Kāśī Khaṇḍa, wide-ranging in its content, contains a great deal of mythology, both local and all-India in character Many of the great Purāṇic myths are told in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* and are set in the matrix of Kāśī's own lore For example, the entire work begins with the story of the sage Agastya's trip to South India to tame the Vindhya mountains which had risen up to block the course of sun In this version of the myth, Agastya lived originally in Vārāṇasī and left the sacred city only with much mourning. His journey to the south, sometimes seen as a mission of Sanskritic Indo-Aryan culture, provides occasion for him to relate to his wife, Lopamudrā, the tales and glories of their beloved Kāśī Finally on Śrī Śaila mountain they meet up with Skanda, who is dwelling there in exile from Kāśī This sets the stage for the rest of the Khaṇḍa in which Skanda is the interlocutor, relating to Agastya and Lopamudrā the tales of Kāśī which he himself had heard from Śiva and Pārvatī

7 Kuber Nath Sukul, personal communication

In the course of the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* one finds such well-known myths as the fiery appearance of the *linga* of light, decapitation of Brahmā by Śiva, the wandering penance of Śiva as the skull-bearing Bhairava, the sacrifice of Dakṣa, and Durgā's battle with Mahiṣa. In addition to such widely-told myths, the work contains many place-specific myths of Kāśi, especially the great cycle of stories connected with Śiva's exile from the city during the reign of King Divodāsa and his long struggle to regain the city by sending the various gods, one by one, as emissaries. Other famous local myths recount the origins of such celebrated sites as Maṇikarṇikā Kuṇḍ, Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ, and Kedāreśvara temple. Indeed, virtually every *linga* and every *kuṇḍ* is described with some mythic statement of its ancient origin.

In addition to its myths, the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* contains scores of specific *māhātmyas*, eulogizing the power of the city itself or of some particular *linga* within it. By way of illustrating these powers, there are dozens of didactic stories. There are also many ritual sections which are oriented specifically to the worshipper or the pilgrim. Daily, fortnightly, monthly and yearly cycles of pilgrimage, worship, and bathing are described. Finally, the text contains geographical information. There are several chapters in which literally hundreds of *tīrthas* and *lingas* are located in relation to one another. In chapters 83 and 84, the list proceeds along the riverbank, naming in turn each *tīrtha* from Asi *saṅgam* north to Vireśvara and then from Ādi Keśava south to Viṇeśvara. The great account of sites in chapter 97 begins in the north and moves gradually southward through the city. This type of detailed geographical description gives a vivid picture of the extent of the city's religious structure in the twelfth century.

The Kāśī Rahasya. Today's printed version of the *Kāśī Rahasya* published by Radhakrishna Mor in 1958, is billed as the third part of the appendix (*pariśiṣṭa*) to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. However, the attribution of this *māhātmya* to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* is questionable, since it is not generally found as a part of the Purāṇa's text. The Purāṇa itself, in the form we now know it, is said to be one of the latest.[8] Perhaps for this reason an appendix of this sort could still be attributed to it. Why this work should

8 Hazra, p. 166.

be appended to a Vaisnava Purāna is something of a "*rahasya*" in itself, however, the work seems to be a deliberate attempt to establish Kāsī as the sacred ground of *both* Visnu and Śiva, which may well account for its appearance in this context

This work, containing twenty six chapters, is quite different in tone and content from *Kāśī Khanda* It contains very little geographical information and no *māhātmyas* of specific *lingas* or *tīrthas* The *māhātmya* is of the city as a whole Although its various sanctuaries are mentioned, they are not lauded separately

Generally speaking, this Rahasya is more spiritual in its understanding of Kāsī Indeed, *rahasya* means "secret teaching" It is in this work that the city itself is most often conceived as a great *linga* of light and that the mystical identity of the city with Brahman is made [9] This vision of Kāsī as the geographical manifestation of the Supreme overshadows sectarianism in the *Kāśī Rahasya* The work's theology is of Hari-Hara, both Visnu and Śiva, and the city is called Harikṣetra as well as Rahasya

In addition to having a mystical orientation, the *Kāśī Rahasya* is preoccupied with the question of sins and the *prāyaścitta*, "atonement," for sins Pilgrimage to Kāsī is itself a *prāyaścitta* for sins committed elsewhere For sins committed within the *kṣetra* several *prāyaścittas* are discussed, including the rebuilding of old or ruined temples (*jīrnoddhāra*) and the circumambulation of the *kṣetra* on the Pañcakrośī Road. This work contains the only major Purānic *māhātmya* of the circumambulation of the city, the Pañcakrośi Yātrā.[10]

Characteristic of the *Kāśī Rahasya* are the many didactic stories which illustrate its *māhātmyas*. Indeed, the hearing of such stories is commended to the reader or listener as a valuable, transforming religious practice.

Kāśī Kedāra Māhātmya As the title indicates, this work praises the southern sector of Kāsi called Kedara, with its famous Kedāreśvara *linga*. The work begins with a review of the types of scriptures *śruti*, *smrti*, the Purānas, the Upapurānas, and the Agamas

9 *Kāśī Rāhasya* 7 65 and whole of chapter 17, for example

10. The Pancakrośi Māhātmya is in chapter 9-11 of the *Kāśi Rahasya*.

But some secrets are held apart from these sources and are to be found only in the *khilas*, the "supplements" to the scripture. The *Kāśī Kedāra Māhātmya* is such a *khila*, according to its own accounting. Its date is perhaps as late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

This work contains thirty-one chapters of *māhātmya* and myth. In the first chapter (1.57ff.) the myth of Kedāra's appearance in the Himālayas is related, and in chapters 19-21 the saga of Kedāra's manifestation to King Mandhātā in Kāśī is told. The *māhātmya* contains variations of a number of myths which are familiar in other Kāśī *māhātmyas*, but here they are related explicitly to Kedāra. The tank at Kedāra is called Ādi Manikarnikā ("Original Manikarnikā") and its story is told, Dasāśvamedha's origins are linked to Brahmā's propitiation of Kedāra in Kāśī (ch. 1), and the myth cycle of King Divodāsa, including tales of his previous life, is told in the Kedāra context. The tenth chapter of the *Kāśī Kedāra Māhātmya* contains the famous hymn, the "Śiva Mahimnastotra" by the poet Puspadanta.

Brahma Purāna 11, Brahmānda Purāna 67, and Vāyu Purāna 92. These three Purānas all contain the mytho-historical account of the rivalry over the generations between the Kāśis and the Haihayas, two tribal groups of ancient India. King Divodāsa of the Kāśīs was finally forced to leave the city of Vārānasī on account of a curse delivered by a *rāksasa* named Ksemaka. The city then fell into the hands of the Haihayas until it was retrieved generations later by a descendant of Divodāsa. Religiously, the account mentions the thousand-year occupation of the city by *rāksasas*. In the *Brahmānda* and *Vāyu* accounts they are called *ganas* or *ganeśas*. These two also contain what was probably a later recasting of the myth: the *ganas* or *ganeśas* were deliberately sent by Śiva for the purpose of expelling Divodāsa from the city, for he had chosen it to be his own capital on earth.

Both the *Brahmānda* and *Vāyu* are said to be among the earliest Purānas.[11] According to Hazra, the *Brahmānda*, which follows the

11 Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Ascetcism and Sexuality in the Mythology of Śiva*, Harvard University Ph.D. Dissertation, Appendix IV, "The age of the Purānas," p. 306. In this Appendix Dr. O'Flaherty has compiled all the various Purānic studies, both Indian and Western, into a very useful table of dates. On the basis of her work she

Vāyu precisely in this account, was not originally separate from the Vāyu [12] Patil, who has studied this Purāna most extensively concludes that the *Vāyu* reflects an age in which Śiva Maheśvara was supreme, and the many *yakṣās*, *vināyayas* (*gaṇeśas*), and *nāgas* were being brought under the Śaiva umbrella [13] In other words, the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda* along with it began to reach their present form in the early centuries of our era. This ambience of rising Śaivism is certainly reflected in the recasting of the above myth

The *Brahma Purāna* is generally held to be a much later Purāna [14] The fact that it includes this ancient myth-history, which probably dates from a time even before the *Brahmānda*/*Vāyu* version, substantiates the notion of continuing Purānic evolution over a long period of time

Matsya Purāna 180-185 The best known shorter *māhātmya* of the city is the five-chapter "Avimukta Māhātmya" of the *Matsya Purāna* According to Hazra, the *Matsya* as a whole agrees very closely with the *Vāyu*, which it seems to follow, particularly through its chapters on kings and genealogies, which he dates at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century [15] Other chapters, particularly on *smṛti*, seem to have been borrowed by the *Padma Purāna* and must, therefore, have been completed before 900 A D the date he mentions as the latest for most material in the *Padma* [16]

In dating these particular chapters (180-185), Hazra is somewhat contradictory In one place he states that they are earlier than the *māhātmya* in the *Kūrma Purāna*, which he dates at 700-800 [17] Elsewhere he states that the Śaiva character of these chapters makes

has then made some tentative groupings of her own, listing the Purāṇas in five eras, from 300A D to 1400 A D Both the *Brahmānda* and *Vāyu* are placed in the 300-500 A D category

12. Hazra, p 18
13. D. R Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāna*, 1946, Reprint, Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1973, pp 187-188
14. O'Flaherty, p 806 She places it in the 1000-1200 grouping
15. Hazra, pp 25-32 O'Flaherty places this Purāna in the 300-500 grouping.
16. Hazra, p. 40.
17. Hazra, pp. 73-74

them no earlier than 700, and their quotation in the *nibandhas* makes them no later than 1075 [18]

The *māhātmya* is told by Śiva to Pārvatī as he shows her the lovely groves of his chosen abode, Avimukta (The name Avimukta is used throughout). It opens with the story of the *yakṣa*'s son whom Śiva and Pārvatī saw doing *tapas* as they surveyed the holy *kṣetra* The austerities of this *yakṣa* in Śiva's sanctuaries and his devotion to Śiva again demonstrate the gradual inclusion of *yakṣas* within the Śaiva fold.

The myths contained in these chapters are few Śiva's wandering penance, skull-in-hands, which ends at Kapālamocana in Kāśī, where the skull of brahmanicide drops from his hand, Vyāsa's near-curse of the city and his subsequent exile, during which he was allowed to visit Kāśī only four days a month

For the most part, however, this is a classic *māhātmya*, touching on all the major themes of Kāśī's sanctity, greatness, and power, and mentioning many of the city's major *tīrthas* and *liṅgas*. It closes with the first mention of the five famous river *tīrthas* of Kāśī Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka, Keśava, Bindu Mādhava, and Maṇikarṇikā

Kūrma Purāṇa I 29-34 *II* 31 This Purāṇa, like the *Matsya*, has several distinct phases in its historical development Beginning as a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa in the sixth century, it seems to have been recast by the Śaiva Pāśupatas in the eighth or ninth centuries, or even later [19] The above chapters, placed by Hazra in the eighth or ninth centuries[20], are probably from a somewhat later date, on account of the explicit mention of the Viśveśvara *liṅga* Viśveśvara, while very popular in Vārāṇasī, did not gain mention in Purāṇic sources until a rather late date, after the twelfth century, when it began to replace Avimuktesvara as the most famous *liṅga* of the city

In *Kūrma Purāṇa* I 29-34, called the 'Vārāṇasī Māhātmya," Vyāsa is the speaker In chapter 28, just before the passage begins,

18 Hazra, pp. 45-46

19 Hazra, p 71 See A S Gupta, "Introduction" to *The Kūrma Purāṇa*, critical edition, Vārāṇasī All-India Kashi Raj Trust, 1972, especially pp viii-xi for a fuller discussion

20 Hazra, pp. 73-74.

he is describing the Kali Age to his pupil Arjuna In this age, he says, Śiva alone should be worshipped, and he goes off to Vārāṇasī to worship Śiva Beginning the chapter 29, Vyāsa tells to Arjuna and other disciples the *māhātmya* of Vārāṇasī as it had been told to Pārvatī by Śiva Chapter 30 continues with the *māhātmya* of Omkāreśvara and Kṛttivāseśvara, two great *liṅgas* of ancient Kāśī In chapter 31 Kapardīśvara is praised and in chapter 32, Madhyameśvara, both important Purāṇic *liṅgas* In chapter 33 Vyāsa visits various secret and sacred precincts of Kāśī (Prayāga, Gayā, and Kedāra are listed among them, but these are those *tīrthas* as they exist in *kāśī* The other *tīrthas* listed are also Kāśī *tīrtha*, such as Svarlina, Pitāmaha, Kapilatīrtha, Gopreksya, Upasānta, Trilocana, Lokārka, and Kapālamocana) Having done these rounds, Vyāsa returns to Viśveśvara and worships The *māhātmya* ends with a brief account of how Vyāsa lived in the city until having received no alms on his daily rounds, he flew into a rage and nearly cursed it As punishment for this lapse, the goddess expelled him, permitting him to live in the city only on the 8th and 14th days of each fortnight

Kūrma Purāṇa II. 31 follows a discussion of the sin of brahmanicide and contains the story of the expiation for this grievous sin at Kapālamocana This accounting of the myth includes the story of Brahmā and Viṣṇu's argument over supremacy, the appearance of the fiery *liṅga* of light, Brahmā's slander of Śiva, the creation of Kāla Bhairava to slice off Brahmā's head, and Kāla Bhairava's wandering expiation, which ends at Kapālamocana in Kāśī, where he is released from the sin of brahmanicide

Padma Purāṇa This Purāṇa is one of the latest O'Flaherty places it in her last grouping (1200-1400), although Hazra allows that sections of it may be as early as 900 [21]

There are several chapters of the *Padma* which contain *māhātmyas* and myths related to Kāśī. The first is *Padma Purāṇa I* (*Ādi Khaṇḍa*). 33-37 These chapters parallel almost exactly those from the *Kūrma Purāṇa* I. 29-33. *Padma* chapter 33 contains a powerful but general, *māhātmya* of the city, chapter 34 deals primarily with Omkāreśvara and the five-fold worship of god there, chapter 35 tells of Kapardīśa on the banks of the Pisācamocana *tīrtha*, chapter

21 O'Flaherty, p 806, Hazra, pp 107-127,

36 concerns Madhyameśvara, and chapter 37 lists a great many other Kāśī *tīrthas* and *lingas*

Padma Purāṇa V (*Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa*) 14 contains a long account of the episode in which Brahmā's head is cut off by Śiva The expiation for the deed is recounted, ending with the *māhātmya* of the Kapālamocana "Release of the Skull" *tīrtha* in Kāśī

Padma Purāṇa VI (*Uttara Khaṇḍa*) 235-236 contains the story of the *muni* Mārkaṇḍu's pilgrimage to Kāśī with the four aged "mothers" (his wives before renouncing the household *āśrama*) As they set out, going slowly on account of their old age, he sings the hymn "For those who have no place to go, Vārāṇasī is the place to go," also found in KKh 32 74ff Then round of pilgrimage in Vārāṇasī is described in detail The names Viśvanāthā and Viśveśvara are prominent, thus supporting the late date of the Purāṇa The mothers established *lingas* in each of the four directions and one of them, Marudvatī, gives birth to Mārkāṇḍeya They then die in Kāśī and receive the *tāraka mantra* in their ears The following chapter contains the famous story of Mārkāṇḍeya's bout with the God of Death The boy takes refuge in the *linga* which becomes known as Mṛtyuñjaya—"Conqueror of Death"

Padma Purāṇa VI (*Uttara Khaṇḍa*) *278* tells the story recounted in the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* of King Pauṇḍraka and his ally the King of Kāśi and their fatal encounter with Kṛṣṇa

Vāmana Purāṇa 3 26ff The extant version of this Purāṇa is from the eighth to eleventh centuries [22] The Purāṇa is concerned primarily with the *tīrtha* of Kurukṣetra and its *māhātmya* It contains only a few verses of interest to the study of Vārāṇasī. The section under consideration begins with an accounting of the name Vāraṇāsī the Varaṇā River flowed long ago from the right foot of the primeval *puruṣa* and the Asi flowed from the left Between them stretched Vārāṇasī.

The subsequent verses bear much in common with the imagery and the *double-entendre* of the opening verses of the *Kuṭṭanī-*

22 Hazra, p 80 See A S Gupta, "Introduction" to *The Vāmana Purāṇa*, critical edition, Vārāṇasī All-India Kashi Raj Trust, especially p xxiv, ff for a discussion of the textual issues relating to the extant *Vāmana* text.

matam in which Vārānasī is described [23] Since the *Kuttanīmatam* belongs to the eighth century, we may presume that this *māhātmya* is from after that time (It is possible, but not likely, that the author of the *Kuttanīmatam* borrowed his ideas from the Purāna)

Elsewhere, the Purāna mentions some of the major sites of Vārānasī They are, like those of the *Matsya* Dasāsvamedha Lolārka Ravi (Lolārka), Kesava and Avimukta These are definitely among the first great sanctuaries of the city The mention of Avimukteśvara qualifies this section of the Purāna for an early date, perhaps in the eighth or ninth century

Linga Purāna 92 From a very early time there seems to have been a *māhātmya* of Vārānasī associated with the *Linga Purāna* Over the centuries, however, both the *Linga Purāna* and the nature of its Vārānasī *māhātmya* have changed. In the case of this Purāna the change did not amount to alteration or minor recasting, rather the Purāna seems to have changed almost totally The *Linga Purāna* quoted by Laksmīdhara in the twelfth century *Tīrthavivecana Kānda* bears little resemblance to the present *Linga Purāna* The Vārānasī *māhātmya* quoted by Laksmīdhara contains a multitude of specific names and a few brief *māhātmyas* of all the major *lingas* in Kāsi The version of the *Linga* used by Laksmīdhara was also quoted by later *nibhandakāras*, such as Vācaspati Misra. As late as the sixteenth century it seems to have been used, but today it is lost to us except as we know it in the *nibandhas*

The *Linga Purāna* we have today is not of a very recent date, however. Hazra estimates that this, too, must have a certain antiquity It probably began to emerge in the seventh century and was nearly complete by the eleventh [24]

The Vārānasī *māhātmya* constitutes chapter ninety-two of this extant Purāna It praises Avimukteśvara as the greatest *linga* of Vārānasī The fact that Viśvesvara is not mentioned seems to substantiate an early date for the Purāna The trio to be visited by

23. *Vāmana* 3 30-39 Compare, for example, *Vāmana* 3 38 with *Kuttanīmatam* 11. The opening verses (3-19) of the *Kuttanīmatam* contain the elaborate description of Vārānasi to which we refer

24. Hazra, p. 95.

the pilgrim, according to this Purāṇa, is Avimuktesvara, Trivistapa (Trilocana), and Kāla Bhairava Many other *tīrthas* and *lingas* are explicitly mentioned· Gopreska, Kapilāhrada, Svarlīnesvara, Madhyameśvara, Kedāra, to note but a few Others *tīrthas* are said to come to Avimukta on pilgrimage, including Kurukṣetra, Naimisa, Puskara, Prayāga, and the sixty-eight great *lingas* of India.

The initial description of Avimukta as a paradisaic forest grove closely parallels the opening of the *Matsya Purāna māhātmya* and many of the subsequent verses of *mahātmya* are identical with *Matsya* verses

The emphasis of the *Linga Purāna* as a whole is on the spiritual and mystical significance of the *linga*, focusing repeatedly on the mythology and imagery of the *linga* as a pillar of light This particularly Śaiva conception of the significance of the *linga* as the symbol of Sadā Śiva or Brahman has had a great impact on the most transcendent visioning of Kāsī as an immense *linga* of light

Nārada Purāna, Uttarabhāga 48-51 These chapters of the *Nārada Purāna* contain a *mahātmya* of Kāsī told by the sage to Queen Mohinī The topics treated are common to Kāsi *māhātmyas* in the Purānas the measurement of the *ksetra*, the great reward of dying in Kāsi, the various *lingas* (with special attention to Krttivāseśvara, Avimukteśvara, and Omkāreśvara), the various *kundas* and *nadīs* in the city, the various *devīs* and *candikās*, the greatness of the River Gangā, and, especially, the greatness of Pañcanada *tīrtha* along the Gangā, with its famous Vaisnava temple, Bindu Mādhava The *māhātmya*, like the Purāna as a whole, has a somewhat Vaisnava cast The city is called, for example, *muktidām vaisnavīm purīm* (II 48 11) In addition, the *māhātmya* is distinctive for its reference to Manikarnikā as a *śmaśāna* (II 48. 67), which is the only such direct reference in the Purānas Elsewhere, Manikarnikā is called a *tīrtha* and a *kunda*, but is not said to be a *śmaśāna.*

The *Nārada Purāna*, according to Hazra, is to be dated from the late ninth to the late tenth centuries, with a somewhat later date ascribed to the Uttarabhāga, chapters 38-82, in which the section under consideration is contained [25] From the Kāsī *māhātmya* one can affirm that chapters 48-51 are post-twelfth century. It is

25 Hazra, p. 131

clear from a close study of these chapters that the author of this portion of the Purāna had the twelfth century *nibandha* of Lakṣmīdhara at his disposal For example, the *Nārada Purāna* (II 49 47 55) tells the story from the old *Linga Purāna*, cited by Lakṣmīdhara, in which the *rākṣasas*, carrying the *linga* through the night sky, drop it over Avimukta when they hear the cocks crow, signaling the morning (*Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa* pp 108-109) Were the story told on its own, we would have no way of knowing that the author of the Purāna did not repeat it from its original source However, following the story, the *Nārada* continues to follow the text of the *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa*, picking up lines from the next two entries in the digest, a selection from the *Viṣnu Purāna* and one from the *Skanda Purāna* ! Even the untrained eye would see it as a clear case of plagiarism, in which the *Nārada* author has, in effect, strung together in his own work three consecutive entries from an earlier anthology This is apparently typical of the entire Purāna, which Hazra says is "more a compilation than an original work "[26]

Śiva Purāna, Kotirudra Samhitā 22-23 The *Śiva Purāna* is not included in all the major Purānic listings of the Mahāpurāṇas, although today it is generally accepted as a Mahāpurāna It is of a more recent date than the *Linga* to be sure O'Flaherty dates it between 1000 and 1200 [27]

The first of these two chapters of the Kotirudra Samhitā contains a beautiful mythological statement of creation, beginning with the one supreme Śiva who split into Śiva and Śakti, or Puruṣa and Prakṛti Although there was the original pair, no *place* yet existed Kāśī was therefore created as the place for Puruṣa's *tapas* and from that eternal place the rest of creation proceeded

The second chapter is a *māhātmya* of the *linga* of light, Kāśī-Viśveśvara The gradual replacement of Avimukteśvara as the great *linga* of Kāśī is visible in this chapter The prominence of Viśveśvara indicates a late date in perhaps the twelfth century for this *māhātmya*

Bhāgavata Purāna X 66, *Viṣnu Purāna V* 34 These two Purāṇas contain a common account of King Paundraka, who accused Kṛṣṇa of falsely claiming to be an *avatāra* and who claimed to be an *avatāra*

26 Hazra, p 133.

27. O'Flaherty, p. 806.

of Vāsudeva himself Kṛsna took up the challenge of Paundraka and met him in battle The King of Kāsī came to Paundraka's aid, and both of them were beheaded by Kṛsna in the battle that ensued Kṛsna hurled the King Kāsi's head into the city of Vārānasī When the King's son sought revenge against Kṛsna, Kṛsna burned down the city of Vārānasi

These accounts clearly reflect a tradition of ancient rivalry between the clan of Kṛsna's followers and the Śaiva kingdoms further east According to the tradition, that was back before the Mahābhārata war According to what we know of Hindu religious history, it was probably in the several centuries before the time of Christ when Kṛsnaite and Śaivite movements began to gain force The *Viṣnu Purāna*, one of the earlier Purānas, preserves this tradition, and its account was probably used in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* some centuries later

Mārkandeya Purāna VII-VIII In these chapters of the *Mārkandeya Purāna* the story of the righteous king Hariscandra is told The story is well known The king gave away all he owned to the *brāhmana* Viśvāmitra as a ritual gift When pressed by Viśvāmitra to pay him *rājasūya dakṣinā* for his own coronation, Hariscandra had no further resources to draw upon He went to Vārānasi with his wife and son, sold the two of them into slavery and sold himself into bondage to work in the cremation grounds in order to pay the *dakṣinā* When his own son died of snake-bite, the righteous king was still so truthful and so scrupulously honest that he insisted he ask his *candāla* master for permission to cremate himself along with his dead son

This ancient tale which explicitly associates Kāsi with one of India's most revered kings is not told in the *Kāśī Khanda*, but popular legend in Banāras today associates dozens of sites with Hariscandra—from the cremation grounds to the place where his son was bitten by the snake

Agni Purāna CXII This short chapter in the *Agni Purāna* speaks of Banāras as the abode of the goddess Gauri, never-forsaken by Śiva It mentions the measurement of the sacred *ksetra*, which extends from the Asi to the Varanā Rivers and lists several of the city's most important *tīrthas*, including Hariscandra, Amṛtakeśvara, Jāpyeśvara (Jñana Vāpi), Mahālaya, Candreśvara, Kedāra, and Bhairava.

The Nibandhas

The *nibandhas* are digests of Purāṇic verses compiled by various medieval scholars on the diverse topics of the Dharmaśāstra It is easy to understand why such digests were desirable, for the Purāṇas are voluminous and materials on any one subject might be found in dozens of places The *nibandhas* provided topical indices to the traditions of the Purāṇas Often the *nibandhakāras*, the "makers of *nibandhas*," explained and commented upon the texts as well Many of these *nibandhas* concerned *tīrthas* and pilgrimages.

Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍa This is one of the fourteen part of the great *Kṛtya Kalpataru*, "The Wishing Tree of Duties," described by its editor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar as "the most important as well as the most complete digest (*nibandha*) of Dharmaśāstra that has come down to us "[28] Indeeed, the *Kṛtya Kalpataru* has fourteen parts, only one of which is concerned with *tīrthas* The others deal with all aspects of *dharma* from *dāna* (ritual giving) to *śrāddha* (death rites) to *rājadharma* (the duties of kings) The enormous work is organized after the pattern of Manu's *Dharmaśāstra*, treating the same topics in virtually the same order, reflecting a progression through the stages of life (*āśramas*) The fact that pilgrimage, *tīrtha-yātrā*, has a major place in the *Kṛtya Kalpataru* shows a great leap in the significance ascribed to pilgrimage from the time of Manu, when it had almost no place at all within the discussion of *dharma*

The author and compiler of this great digest was Lakṣmīdhara a very influential figure in the history of Vārāṇasī Lakṣmīdhara was the judge and scholar who became chief minister to the great Gāhadavāla king Govindacandra in the early twelth century The king is said to have ruled from 1104-1154, and the *Kṛtya Kalpataru* was undertaken at the explicit command of the king during that time Aiyangar estimates that it probably began to come out about 1110. What little we know of Lakṣmīdhara indicates that this scholar and ethicist was the most powerful man in the kingdom Not only was he the most formidable authority of the age on *dharma*, he also seems to have been an example of what he knew. He was generous in public works, such as building rest houses for

28. K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, Preface to Bhatta Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtya Kalpataru*, Vol 1, *Brahmacāri Kāṇḍa*, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1948, p 1.

pilgrims, and, although the king was generous in donations, he himself as a scrupulous *brāhmana* accepted no gifts (*pratigraha*)

Laksmīdhara's pioneering work was held in great reverence by the later compilers of digests and scholars of *smrti* As Aiyangar remarks, "Almost every writer of *nibandhas* after his day used Laksmidhara's work as a quarry from which to extract the materials for building his own edifice of Dharmasāstra "[29] Elsewhere he says that the great scholar was so thorough, concise, and reliable, so spare in interjecting his own opinions, that later authors took Laksmidhara's silence on a rule or omission of a passage as a rejection of its authenticity [30]

The *Tīrthavivecana Kānda* is an indispensable tool for the study of *tīrthas* and pilgrimages in India It gathers up the Purānic traditions of the twelfth century and gives us at least one dividing line for dating the various *tīrtha māhātmyas* The work begins with a discussion of *tīrtha-yātrā vidhi* "pilgrimage traditions" Here he quotes the *Māhābhārata* on the nature of pilgrimage its significance as a substitute for sacrifice, its accessibility even to the poor, its interior as well exterior nature He quotes the long passage on the importance of making an interior pilgrimage to the "*tīrthas* of the heart" (Mhbh 13 111 2-21) By beginning his exploration of sacred places with a discussion of the inner preparation and faith of the pilgrim, Laksmīdhara sets a lofty ideal for pilgrimage pilgrimage ought to include both the earthly *tīrthas* and the *tīrthas* of the heart Laksmīdhara's example in this respect is followed by both Vācaspati Misra and Mitra Misra in their respective digests

After this brief introductory section, Laksmidhara takes up the various places of pilgrimage, beginning with Vārānasī, which receives the most extensive attention, taking almost half of the digest It is followed by a substantial section on Prayāga, and by briefer sections on the Ganga, Gayā, Kurukseṭra, Puskara, Mathura, Ujjain, Narmada, Badarikāsrama, and other *tīrthas* Like later *nibandhakāras*, Laksmidhara does not attempt to deal equally with all *tīrthas*, but rather concentrates on a few The work ends with a short chapter on the *Mahāpatha Yātrā*—the final walk-unto-death

29 *ibid.*

30 *op cit* Editor's Introduction, p xiv

into the Himālayas based upon the final pilgrimage of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata* [31]

In his section on Vārāṇasī, Lakṣmīdhara quotes the various Purānas available to him in his day He quotes at greatest length from the *Linga Purāna*, although not the extant *Linga Purāna*, and *Matsya Purāna* He also cites the *Skanda* and the *Brahma Purāṇas* What he cites from the *Skanda*, however, is brief, and there is no indication that the author knew of the *Kāśī Khanda* We have speculated above that the *Kāśī Khanda* was probably in the making during his day. The combined sources cited by Laksmidhara name about 350 *tīrthas* in Vārāṇasī alone, most of them enumerated in the *Linga Purāna* which he quotes

Tīrthacintāmani This is part of a large *nibandha* of Vācaspati Misra, a scholar of Mithila who lived in the fifteenth century (1450 1480) and compiled the *Smrti Cintāmani*, "The Magical Wishing Jewel of the Tradition"

The opening of this work closely follows that of the *Tirtha vivecana Kānda*, with quotations from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vāyu Purāna*, and the *Brahma Purāna* on the nature of pilgrimage and the manner in which it should be performed The five places which he then treats most extensively are Gayā, Purusottama (Puri), Prayāga, Kāsi, and the Gangā Other *tīrthas* are mentioned more briefly The regional bias of this work is Eastern, therefore it is not surprising that about two fifths of it is devoted to the exaltation of Purusottama, the great *tīrtha* at Purī in Orissa

Vācaspati Misra's treatment of Vārāṇasī is concise and contains no surprises He does, however, quote from the *Kāśī Khanda* twice, and he is the first *nibandhakāra* to do so.

Tīrtha Prakāśa The author of this work is the great seventeenth century *nibandhakāra* Mitra Misra, whose compendium of Dharmaśāstra, the *Vīramitrodaya*, is the only *nibandha* which exceeds

31 This is a suicide pilgrimage The subject of ritual suicide at Kāsi and Prayāga is discussed at length in the digests For the most part it is not condemned, although it is disapproved of for those with dependent families See Kane's discussion of this, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol IV, pp 604-614 See also *Tīrthavivecana Kānda* pp 258 265, *Tīrthacintāmani*, pp 47-52, and *Tristhalīsetu*, pp 47-55

Laksmīdhara's in sheer bulk Aiyangar writes, however, that it is sometimes diffuse and indiscriminate in the authorities selected for quotation [32] Mitra Misra was from a Gwalior family and wrote this digest under the patronage of the court at Bundelkhand

The *Tīrtha Prakāśa* is but one section of the *Vīramitrodaya* Following Laksmīdhara, he begins with general discussion of pilgrimage and the inner disposition and faith of the pilgrim His introductory discussion of *sāmānyatīrthadharma*, "general *tīrtha dharma*" continues at some length He takes up the rituals of pilgrimage in greater detail than does Laksmīdhara, discusses the times for pilgrimage, the fruits of pilgrimage, and then proceeds to the discussion of particular *tīrthas* He begins with Kāsī and then discusses the various *tīrthas* in much the same order as did Laksmīdhara In his Kāsi section, however, he quotes the Jābāla and Rāmatāpanīya Upanisads at the outset and includes quotations from the *Kāśī Khanda*, as well as the *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Brahma*, *Linga*, and *Brahmavaivarta Purānas* He also quotes the *Krtya Kalpataru*

Tristhalīsetu Nārāyana Bhatta, the author of this digest, was another of Kāsī's famous scholar-statesmen in the line of Laksmīdhara Living in the sixteenth century, he was active in the religious life of Kāsī during the last years of the Delhi Sultanate presided over by the Lodis At the beginning of the century many of the city's temples must have been destroyed, for during most of Nārāyana Bhatta's own lifetime the Visvesvara temple lay in ruins In his *nibandha* he advised pilgrims to do reverence to the place where its *linga* had been, even though the *linga* had been hauled away and destroyed [33] It was Nārāyana Bhatta who finally oversaw the rebuilding of the temple in 1585 One can well imagine that this man, so faithful and determined even amidst the ruins of the sacred city, was a great inspiration to all Banāras in his day.

Despite adversity the intellectual tradition of Banāras flourished with new vigor in the sixteenth century, and among Banāras scholars of the day Nārāyana Bhatta was surely a leader [34] In addition to the *Tristhalisetu*, he wrote several other works on Dharmaśāstra including two works on death rites, the *Antyesti Paddhati* and the *Jīvatśrāddha Prayoga*

32 Aiyangar, *op cit*, Editor's Introduction, p 4

33. Nārāyana Bhatta, *Tristhalīsetu*, Ānandāsrama Sanskrit Series, No 78 Poona, 1915, p 208

34 Śrī Gopināth Kavirāj, *Kāśī ki Sārasvata Sādhanā*, Patna · Bihār Rāstrabhāsā Parisad, 1965, pp 14-42.

The *Tristhalīsetu*, "The Bridge of the Three Sacred Sites," is not part of a larger *nibandha*, but stands on its own and carries the principle of selectivity in discussing *tīrthas* to an extreme He deals with only three Kāśī, Prayāga, and Gayā They are the three great *tīrthas* of central North India Although he begins with Prayāga, his treatment of Kāśī is much more extensive, taking at least two thirds of the book He quotes nearly all the Purāṇas on Kāśī, beginning with a general *māhātmya* of the city He surveys a great variety of topics including conduct of a person who lives in Kāśī, the question of sin and atonement for sin in Kāśī, the vow never to leave Kāśī (*kṛtnasannyāsa*), the rites to be performed in Kāśī and the city's auspicious times Then he surveys and comments upon the literature on the various *tīrthas* within Kāśī—Manikarnikā, Jñāna Vāpī, Viśveśvara, Omkāreśvara, and so forth This is followed by a survey of the various special times, organized according to the progression of the days of the fortnight, then the days of the week Finally he discusses atonement for sin in Kāśī and the question of death in Kāśī (pp 290-316) This final discussion of death and liberation in Kāśī is one of the longest parts of the *Tristhalīsetu* and one into which Nārāyana Bhatta frequently interjects himself as commentator and interpreter

Other Sankrit Works

Kāśīmrtimoksa Vicāra/*Kaśī Moksa Nirnaya*. This work is attributed to Sureśvarācārya, the Advaitin pupil and follower of Śankara. This "Discussion of *Moksa* in Kāśī" contains fifteen verses with commentary and supporting quotations by the author Taking a philosophical perspective on the great faith-claim "Death in Kāśī is Liberation," the author attempts to answer questions and objections put by philosophical inquirers The work has been translated into Hindi with explanatory notes by Pt Ambika Datta Upādhyāya

Jābāla Upanisad The first two sections of this *upanisad*, identify the eternal soul (*ātmā*) with that which is sought out and served in Avimukta When pressed about the location of Avimukta, the teacher reveals that it is between the Varanā and the Nāśī in the place where the nose and eyebrows meet, where heaven touches earth This mystical interpretation of Avimukta is quoted and discussed by the author of the *Kāśī Moksa Nirnaya* and is referred to by Śankarācārya in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*

Gangā Lahari "The Gangā's Waves" is a hymn to the River Gangā written by the seventeenth century poet Jagannātha, who

was patronized by the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān and his son, Prince Dārā Shikoh. His involvement with the court and his love affair with a Muslim woman resulted in his rejection by caste *brāhmaṇas*. According to legend, when Jagannātha was snubbed by the *brāhmaṇas* in Banāras, he called upon the Gangā to accept and sanctify him. He is said to have composed the *Gangā Laharī* as he sat atop the steps of the Pañcagangā Ghāt with his beloved. At each of the fifty-two verses, the Gangā rose one step until she touched the very feet of the lovers and they, purified, disappeared into her embrace.

Kāśī Tattva Bhāskara, *Kāśī Yātrā Prakāśa*. These two works are representative of a genre of books, both in Hindi and Sanskrit, which serve as guidebooks for the religiously observant pilgrim to or resident of Kāśī. The first work begins with a *māhātmya* of Kāśī, consisting of both Sanskrit verses and Hindi exposition. This is followed by a description of the daily, weekly, and yearly rites, pilgrimages, and festival days. The yearly observances are listed, month by month, beginning with Caitra. The particular temples and *lingas* which are exalted, each in turn, throughout the year are listed and praised. The second work, the *Kāśī Yātrā Prakāśa*, is organized by pilgrimage cycles rather than by times. The pilgrimages around the Antargṛha, to the nine Gaurīs, to the 56 Ganeśas, to the twelve *ādityas*, to the twelve *lingas* of lights, etc., are described.

Here we have surveyed some of the sources for the study of Vārāṇasī in Sanskrit literature and indicated very briefly their contents. The sources are many, and together they present one with thousands of lines of mythical, ritual, geographical, theological, hymnic, and historical material. The study of these sources will require a variety of hermeneutical tools. Some of this material is carefully detailed and essentially descriptive, such as the geographical sections of the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa*, and must be studied accordingly. Some of it is mythological, but some is a mixture of myth and history requiring extensive consideration in the context of wider Purāṇic histories and genealogies. Some of it is a literature of praise, necessitating consideration in the light of a sophisticated understanding of the nature of *māhātmya*. Finally, some of it is close to what, in a Western context, would be considered theology, articulating an understanding, not of a deity, but of a luminous *place* which has been significant as a "place of crossing," a *tīrtha*.

A NOTE ON KĀTYAYANĪ

Kātyāyanī is a famous name of goddess Durgā which is often cited in Purānas, and Śākta literature However it is not well known in those literatures how this name was attributed to the goddess The name owes its origin to Kātyāyana Kātyāyana was descendant of Kata [1]

In the Purānas and the epic though the name is very popular yet its meaning is not given Only in the Vāmana Purāna we get an episode in connection with the birth of the goddess which explains the meaning of the name as well as its relation with Kātyāyana According to the Vāmana Purāna (Ch 19), defeated by demon Mahisa, the gods, headed by Brahmā, approached to Lord Visnu who was sitting with Lord Śamkara They informed the two great gods about their defeat and miseries caused by demon Mahisa Hearing this the two great gods were very much enraged Brahmā and other gods also became very angry From the enraged faces of the gods issued lustres of high potency and the effulgence issued from each god separately became united in the shape of a peak of the mountain This episode happened in the vicinity of the hermitage of sage Kātyāyana who also created his own lustre and augmented the heap of lustre by his own effulgence This lustre–heap was changed in the form of a holy woman

ततोऽनुकोपान्मधुसूदनस्य
सशंकरस्यापि पितामहस्य ।
तथैव शक्रादिषु दैवतेषु
महद्धि तेजो वदनाद् विनिःसृतम् ॥6
तच्चैकता पर्वतकूटसंनिभ
जगाम तेज: प्रवराश्रमे मुने ।
कात्यायनस्याप्रतिमस्य तेन
महर्षिणा तेन उपाकृतं च ॥7

1. It should be mentioned that कात्यायनी was also the wife of Sage याज्ञवल्क्य See Bṛhadāranyaka-Up II.
याज्ञवल्क्यस्य द्वे भार्ये बभूवतु: । मैत्रेयी कात्यायनी च । तयोर्हि मैत्रेयी ब्रह्मवादिनी बभूव स्त्रीप्रज्ञैव हि तर्हि कात्यायनी ।

तेनर्षिसृष्टेन च तेजसा वृतं
ज्वलत्प्रकाशार्कसहस्रतुल्यम् ।
तस्माच्च जाता तरलायताक्षी
कात्यायनी योगविशुद्धदेहा ॥8

It is further said that the *Tejas* created by Sage Kātyāyana was most excellent and the goddess became famous by the name of Kātyāyanī.

तर्षितेजोत्तममुत्तम महत्-
नाम्ना पृथिव्यामभवत्प्रसिद्धम् ।
कात्यायनी येव तदा बभौ सा
नाम्ना च तेनैव जगत्प्रसिद्धा ॥19. 13

The goddess appeared in the Āsrama of the Sage Kātyāyana and the lustre issued from him was prominent in the goddess.

Here it should also be noted the story of the appearance of the goddess from the lustres of the gods is given in the Devi-bhāgavata (V Ch 8) and Saptasatī (Chs 2-4) of the Mārkandeya Purāna in detail but the mention of Kātyāyanī is not found there

—Ganga Sagar Rai

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
(July-December, 1979)

Varāha Purāna Work

While the adhyāya-s with their critical apparatus are given to the press for printing and then proofs are being corrected, the Appendices are also actively prepared The work proceed contemporaneously on different appendices which are distributed among the pandits. At present the following work has been done

1 Critical Notes on the most interesting or difficult points of the text of the Varāha Purāna They have been written for the adhyāyas 1 to 50

2 The Śloka-Index cards have been prepared fully, arranged in alphabetical order and numbered

3 The Subject-Concordance of the Varāha Purāna with the other Purāṇas and the Mahābharata has also been written for the adhyāyas 1 to 100

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa was recited in the Śrī Padmanābha Temple of Rāmnagar by Śrī Kāmadeva Jhā from 28 October to 4 November, 1979 Discourses were given by the well-known and much venerated Svāmi Karpātrijī His Highness Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh also attended to the discourses

Veda Pārāyaṇa

The text of the Śukla Yajurveda, Kānva Śākhā, i e its Samhita, pada, krama, jatā, ghana, prātiśākhya parts were recited from memory by Śrī Lakṣmikanta Purāṇic, while the Śrotā was Śrī Balakrsna (Bālajī) The recitation was held from 25 June to 8 August, 1979 in the Prabhu Nārāyaneśvara Temple of the Śivālā Palace in Vārāṇasi. This recitation enters in the project of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, which as one of its objects has the promotion of the Indian Culture At the completion of the scheduled Parayana the usual Dakṣiṇā was given to the Pārāyaṇa kartā and the Śrotā.

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९७९)

वराहपुराणकार्यम्

वराहपुराणस्य समीक्षितमूलपाठेन सह पाठसमीक्षोपकरण मुद्रणार्थं मुद्रणालये वर्तते मुद्रणकार्यं च प्रारब्धं वर्तते। परिशिष्टनिर्माणकार्यमपि त्वरया सपाद्यमान वर्तते। विविधपरिशिष्टाना निर्माणकार्यं विविधपण्डितै समकालमेव क्रियमाण वर्तते। अद्यावधि अधोनिर्दिष्ट कार्यं पूर्णं वर्तते—

१ प्रथमाध्यायत पञ्चाशदध्याय यावत् महत्त्वपूर्णाना दुरूहाणा च अशाना पाठसमीक्षात्मिका टिप्पणी लिखिता ज।ता।

२ श्लोकार्धसूची अक्षरानुक्रमेण पूर्णा वर्तते।

३ प्रथम अध्यायत १०० अध्याय यावद् वराहपुराणस्य इतरमहापुराणै· सह महाभारतेन च सह विषयसाम्यकार्यमपि पूर्णं वर्तते।

(२) पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

२८ अक्टूबर १९७९ दिनाङ्कादारभ्य ४ नवम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्क यावत् रामनगरस्थे पद्मनाभमन्दिरे एतद्विषये विष्णुपुराणस्य पारायण पण्डितकाम-देवझामहोदयेन कृतम्। विश्वविश्रुतै पूज्यचरणै स्वामिकरपात्रमहाभागैश्चत्वारि दिनानि यावत् प्रवचन कृतम्। तत्र भवन्तो महाराजा काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहाभागा अपि प्रवचनेषु उपस्थिता आसन्।

(३) वेदपारायणम्

जटाक्रमघनप्रातिशाख्यादिभि सह शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य काण्वशाखाया पारायण पण्डितलक्ष्मीकान्तपौराणिकगहोदयेन कृतम्। श्री बालकृष्ण (बालाजी) महोदय श्रोता आसीत्। एतद् वेदपारायणम् आषाढ-श्रावणमासयो २५ जून दिनाङ्कादारभ्य ८ अगस्त १९७९ दिनाक यावद् वाराणसीस्थस्य शिवालाभवनस्य प्रभुनारायणेश्वरमन्दिरे सपन्नम्। एतद्वेदपारायण सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य प्राचीनविद्यासस्कृतिसरक्षणस्योद्देश्येषु समागच्छति। परायणसमाप्तौ पारायणकर्त्रे श्रोत्रे च यथानिर्दिष्टा दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता।

Purāṇa Gosthī

Under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust a Seminar on Purāṇas 'Purāna Gosthi) was organized at Shivālā Palace of the Trust on 8th July 1979 His Highness Mahārāja Dr Vibhūti Naraın Singh presided over the Seminar In the beginning the Vedic Vasanta Pūjā was performed The Vedic Brahmins recited the Vedas according to different modes of the vedic recitation Scholars took interest in the vedic recitation and asked the vedic reciters to recite again the different modes Mahārāja Kumāı Śrı Anant Naraın Singh distributed Dakshinā to the vedic Pandits After the vedic Vasanta Pūjā the Purāna Seminar started with Mangalācarana and Vyāsa Vandanā The annual report of the Purāna Deptt was placed before the audience by the editor and discussion started Scholars present were Prof Lallanjı Gopal, Prof Rewı Prasad Dwivedi and Prof Vishwanath Bhattacharya of Benares Hindu University, Dr Vagish Shastrı, Research Director of Sampūrnānand Sanskrit University, Prof Amar Nāth Pandey and Prof Raghunāth Ghı of Kashi Vidyapith and many distinguished scholars of the city such as Prof Baladeva Upādhyāya, Major S L Dar and Pāndit Vishwanāth Shastrı Dātār The Vyāsa Purnimā number of the Purāna Bulletin was presented to His Highness by the editor On this occasion a new book entitled 'Nārada Purāna—A Study' was released by the Mahārāja, Dr Vibhūti Naraın Singh At the conclusion Mahārāja Dr Vibhūti Naraın Singh thanked the scholars for their attendance At the end Prasāda was distributed

Scholars and Distinguished Persons who Visited the Purāṇa Department

1 Dr A K Naraın, Professor of History and South Asian Studies University of Wisconsin, U S A (Formerly, Principal, College of Indology, Dean, Faculty of Arts, B H U , Vārānasi)—on 6 7 1979

2 Allen W Thrasher Deptt of Asian Language and Literature, University of Washington, U S A —on 27 7 1979

3 Ronald Kogloff, Montreal, Canada—on 4 8 1979

4. Barron and Rıma Holland of Monterey, California, U S A They wrote on the visitors' book 'We are very happy to visit your excellent institution You are doing a great service in preserving the great texts of popular Hinduism, —on 13 8 1979

पुराणगोष्ठी

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने न्यासस्य शिवालाभवने ८ जुलाई १९७९ दिनाङ्के पुराणगोष्ठी आयोजिता आसीत्। तत्र भवन्त काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया अध्यक्षता कृतवन्त । प्रारम्भे वैदिकवसन्तपूजा सपन्ना । वैदिकब्राह्मणै पारायणस्य विविधरीतीरनुसृत्य वेदपाठ कृत । उपस्थिता विद्वास पारायणे अतीव रुचि प्रदर्शितवन्त पुन पुन श्रवणाय प्रार्थितवन्तश्च। महाराजकुमारेण श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहेन वैदिकब्राह्मणेभ्यो दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता । वैदिकवसन्तपूजानन्तर पुराणगोष्ठी प्रारब्धा । प्रथमतो मङ्गलाचरण व्यासवन्दना च जाता । सम्पादकेन 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया व्यासपूर्णिमाङ्क न्यासस्याध्यक्षेभ्यो महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्य समर्पित । सम्पादकेन पुराणविभागस्य वार्षिक कार्यविवरण विदुषा समक्ष प्रस्तुतम् । एतद्विषये विद्वद्भि विवेचन प्रारब्ध केचिदुपयोगिपरामर्शा अपि प्रदत्ता । उपस्थितेषु प्रमुखविद्वत्सु प० बलदेव उपाध्याय , प्रो० एस० एल० दर, काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्रो० लल्लनजीगोपाल , डा० रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी, डा० विश्वनाथभट्टाचार्य , सम्पूर्णानन्दसस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य डा० वागीश शास्त्री, प० विश्वनाथशास्त्रीदातार, काशीविद्यापीठस्य डा० अमरनाथपाण्डेय डा० रघुनाथगिरि प्रमुखा आसन्। अस्मिन्नवसरे तत्रभवद्भि काशिनरेशै डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयै न्यासस्य 'नारदपुराण-ए स्टडी' नाम्न नवीनग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनोद्घाटनमपि विहितम्। अन्ते महाराजै समुपस्थितविदुष प्रति धन्यवादा प्रदत्ता:। प्रसादवितरणानन्तर गोष्ठी विसर्जिता।

(५) पुराणविभागे आगता विशिष्टजना विद्वांसश्च

१ डा० अवधकिशोरनारायण —विसकान्सिन, यू० एस० ए० विश्वविद्यालये इतिहासस्य दक्षिण-एशियाविद्याना च अध्यक्ष (पूर्वं एष महाभाग काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीमहाविद्यालयस्य प्राचार्य आसीत्)—६ ७ १९७९ दिनाके ।

२. एलेन डब्ल्यू० ब्रैशर—वासिगटन, यू० एस० ए० विश्वविद्यालये एशियन भाषाया साहित्यस्य च प्राध्यापक — २७ ७ १९७९ दिनाङ्के।

३ रेनाल्ड कोग्लोफ—माण्ट्रियल कनाडा इत्यत्रत्य —४ ८ १९७९ दिनाङ्के ।

४. बैरन तथा रीमा होलैण्ड—माण्टेरी कैलिफोर्निया, यू० एस० ए० इत्यत्रै वास्तव्यौ—तौ दर्शकपुस्तिकाया लिखितवन्तौ—आवा भवता विशिष्टसंस्थानम् आगत्यातीव तुष्टो। भवन्त प्रचलितहिन्दुधर्मस्य ग्रन्थाना सरक्षणेन महती सेवा कुर्वन्ति । १३ ८ १९ ९ दिनाङ्के।

5 Roberto Donatoni, University of Milan, Italy 'I am glad to have the opportunity to behold the magnificent and impressive work done by this institution I think it will be of outstanding importance and usefulness for future generations of scholars '- on 13 8 1979

6 Sri Gaurinath Shastri of the Paurānic and Vedic Research Institute of Naimisharanya—on 15 9 1979

7 About 50 eminent epigraphists who attended the conference organised by the American Institute of Indian Studies were received by His Highness Mahārāja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh at tea The Scholars saw the publications of the trust and spoke highly of it—on 20 12 79

Rāsa Lilā

As usual for the last several years, the Rāsa Lilā was performed under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, in the Prasiddha Garden of Rāmnagar from 27 July to 7 August, 1979 Many devotees and enthusiastic people attended to the religious performance for the whole period The actors of the Rāsa Lila, who had come from Mathurā-Vrindāvana as usual, contributed a lot with their skill and fervour to keep alive the enthusiasm of the audience His Highness Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh also attended to the performance daily

Rāma Lilā

This year the Rāma Lilā, which is celebrated under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the financial help of the Government of India, was duly performed during the month of Asvina, i e from Ananta Caturdasi (5 Sept , 1979) to Āsvina Purnima (3 October, 1979) The Mahārāja of Benares, Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh attended to the performance daily Thousands of people attended also to the re-enacting of the deeds of Rāma done by the skillful amateur actors of Rāmnagar and Kāsī who transmit their art from generation to generation in their own families Hundreds of sādhus from all over India flock to Rāmnagar in this period to attend the Lilās of Rāma To them a free ration (bhandara) of food is given daily for the whole month, during which

५ रीवर्टो डोनाटोनी—इटलीदेशस्य मिलानविश्वविद्यालयस्य "अस्मिन् तस्थाने क्रियमाण शोभन प्रभावोत्पादक च कार्यं दृष्ट्वा प्रमुदितोऽस्मि । मम दृष्ट्वा एतत्कार्यं भविष्यत्काले विदुषा कृते अतीवोपयोगि अतिमहत्त्वपूर्णं च भविष्यति ।" १३ ८ १९७९ दिनाङ्के ।

६ श्रीगौरीनाथशास्त्री—सपूर्णानन्दसस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य भूतपूर्वोपकुलपति —१५ ९ ७९ दिनाङ्के ।

७ अभिलेखविद्यासबन्धिसम्मेलनस्य प्राय पञ्चाशत् सख्याका प्रतिनिधयो दुर्गे न्यासस्याध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भि काशिनरेशैर्महाराजे डा० विभूतिनारायणसिहमहोदयै लब्ध्वाहारेण सत्कृता । तेषु डा० डी० सी० सरकार-डा० कृष्णन् महोदय-डा० ब्रजेन्द्रनाथशर्मप्रभृतिभिर्विद्वद्भि पुराणकार्यस्य महत्त्व प्रतिपादित कार्यस्य प्रशसन च कृतम् । प्रतिनिधिभ्य. 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकाया नूतनोङ्क उपायनीकृत. ।

रासलीला

रामनगरस्थे 'प्रसिद्ध' नामके उद्याने पूर्ववर्षेष्विव अस्मिन्नपि वर्षे सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य सरक्षणे जुलाईमासस्य २७ दिनाङ्कादारभ्य ७ अगस्त १९७९ दिनाङ्क यावत् रासलीला अभिनीता । बहुसख्यका धार्मिका भक्ता रासलीला दृष्टवन्त । रासलीलाप्रदर्शका यथापूर्वं मथुरावृन्दावनत. समागता. । दर्शकाणा परितोषाय प्रदर्शकै कौशलेन स्वकला. प्रदर्शिता । तत्रभवन्त काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिहमहोदया प्रतिदिनं रासलीला प्रेक्षयाचक्रु ।

रामलीला

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य प्रबन्धे सम्पाद्यमाना रामलीला अस्मिन् वर्षे अनन्तचतुर्दशीदिनादारभ्य (५ सितम्बर १९७९ ई०) आश्विनपूर्णिमादिनं (५ अक्टूबर १९७९ दिनाङ्क) यावत् सम्पन्ना । महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिहमहोदया प्रतिदिन रामलीलायामुपस्थिता आसन् । रामलीलाया: दक्षा: कलाकारा. रामनगरस्था समीपवर्तिकाशीस्था वा सन्ति । इमे कुलपरम्परया स्वकला रक्षन्ति रामलीलादर्शकाणा परितोषार्थं प्रदर्शयन्ति च । रामलीला द्रष्टुं भारतवर्षस्य विविधप्रदेशेभ्य. शतश साधव समागच्छन्ति रामनगरम् । साधुभ्यो मासपर्यन्त भोजनसामग्री नि शुल्क प्रदीयते । अस्मिन् भोजनसामग्रीवितरणकार्ये

also some members of the staff of the Purāna Deptt help in such distribution The presence of the sādhus to the Rāmalīlā and their enthusiasm contribute to give a colourful and devotional atmosphere to the performance The open air representation is performed in a large area in different spots changing with the places of Rāma's deeds At the end of the Rāmalīlā the actors were received by H H the Mahārāja of Benares, who gave them due respect and food along with the Daksinā

Kumārī Anurādhā Kapoor, a research student of Leeds University, U K, came to study the Rāmalīlā for the whole month and stayed at the Palace Guest House with her mother She is doing her doctorate on Rāmalīlā

For the first time this year the Mahārāja Kumār participated at the līlās on the elephant for the last few performances

The Chairman receives their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal

On 23rd September, 1979 His Highness Mahārāja Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh, Chairman of the Trust threw a luncheon party in honour of His Majesty the King Mahārāja Vir Virendra Vikrama Dev of Nepal and Her Majesty the Queen of Nepal On this occasion many dignitaries were present The Mahārāja presented the Purāna publications of the Trust to the King The King accepted this present with keen interest and reverence

Chairman Elected as President of Vishwa Sanskrit Pratiṣṭhān

Due to decaying conditions of Sanskrit language and literature Scholars all over the world were pondering to adopt the methods for the restoration and uplift of this ancient and valuable language In the centenary year of the Mother of Pondicherry this attempt got a new momentum when by the centenary organizing committee a Sanskrit sub-committee under the Chairmanship of His Highness Mahārāja Dr Karan Singh of Jammu and Kashmir was formed This sub-committee held about hundred seminars all over the world Finally in the Conference held at Allahabad on 25th January, 1979 on the occasion of Magha fair it was decided that a Vishwa Sanskrit Pratisthān be established with headquarter at Vedapuri, Pondicherry This organization will work as an apex to different Sanskrit organizations



H. H. Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh presenting the Purāna publications to His Majesty King Virendra of Nepal

पुराणविभागस्यापि केचन पण्डिता साहाय्य कुर्वन्ति। साधूनामुपस्थिति-रुत्साहश्च रामलीला भक्तिभरिताम् आकर्षणयुक्ता च करोति। अस्मिन् वर्षेऽपि सर्वे साधवो भोजनसामग्री गृहीतवन्तः। एषा रामलीला अति विस्तृते क्षेत्रे विविध-स्थलेषु सपाद्यते। एषा स्थलाना नामानि रामचरितेन सवद्धानि सन्ति। रामलीलासमाप्तौ काशिनरेशै महाराजै रामनगरदुर्गे भोजनेन दक्षिणाभि-सत्कारेण च रामलीलापात्राणि सयोज्य सतोष्य विसर्जितानि।

अस्मिन् वर्षे अन्तिमेषु कतिपयेषु दिवसेषु महाराजकुमार रामलीलाया गजारूढो भूत्वा रामलीलावलोकन कृतवान्।

यूनाइटेड किगडमदेशस्य लीड्सविश्वविद्यालयस्य शोधछात्रा कुमारी अनुराधाकपूर महोदया रामलीलाध्ययनार्थं रामनगरमागता। एषा स्वमात्रा सह रामनगरदुर्गेस्थिते अतिथिभवने मासं यावत् स्थिता। एषा महोदया रामलीला-विषये 'डाक्ट्रेट' पदवी प्राप्तुम् शोध करोति।

न्यासस्याध्यक्षैः नेपालाधीश्वराणां सम्मानम्

न्यासस्याध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिर्महाराजै. काशिनरेशै डा० विभूतिनारायण-सिहमहोदयै. २३ सितम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के वाराणस्या नन्देश्वरभवने तत्र भवता महाराजाना नेपालनरेशाणा श्रीवीरेन्द्रविक्रमसिहदेवाना तत्र भवतीना श्री नेपालमहाराज्ञीना सम्माने भोजन प्रदत्तम्। अस्मिन् अवसरे महाराजा नेपालनरेशाः, नेपालाधिपस्य महाराज्ञी अन्ये च विशिष्टा जना उपस्थिता आसन्। तत्रभवद्भि काशिनरेशैर्नेपालनरेशेभ्य. सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणप्रकाशनानि उपायनीकृतानि नेपालनरेशैरतीवप्रेम्णा श्रद्धया च तान्यु-पायनान्यङ्गीकृतानि।

न्यासाध्यक्षा विश्वसस्कृतप्रतिष्ठानस्य अध्यक्ष नियुक्ता

सस्कृतभाषाया साहित्यस्य चावत्तीयमानयाऽवस्थया जगत विद्वासो दु खिता आसन् तस्य सरक्षणार्थं विकासार्थं च चिन्तापरा आसन् श्रीअरविन्दा-श्रमस्य मातु. शताब्दीवर्षे मातु शताब्दीसयोजकसस्थया काश्मीराधिपस्य श्री डा० कर्णसिह महाभावस्याध्यक्षतायामेका सस्कृतोपसमितिर्नियुक्ता यया दे भारते विदेशेषु च शतगोष्ठीनामायोजन विहि य्। २५ जनवरी १९७९ दिनाके अनया समित्या प्रयागे एकस्यविश्वसस्कृतस्यायोजन कृतम्। अनेन सम्मेलनेन निर्णीत यद् सस्कृताभिवृद्धये सस्कृतसस्थानामधिष्ठात् रूपेण विश्वसस्कृत-प्रतिष्ठानस्य स्थापन भवेत्।

Now the Vishwa Sanskrit Pratisthān has started working and the Chairman of the Trust His Highness Mahārāja Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh has been selected its first President The first meeting of its executive was held at Nadesar on Oct. 13-14, 1979 where many resolutions for the uplift and promotion of Sanskrit were adopted His Highness has issued a statement for the all side help for the propagation, membership and financial assistance to the Pratisthān

Śri Devadatta is organising Secretary of the Pratisthān

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Mahārāja Prabhu Narain Singh Physical Cultural Trust

On the occasion of the birth day of the Mahārāja Kumār Śrī Anant Naram Singh, sports of the boys of the local schools were organized. The usual competitions took place on 28 November, 1979 and then, because of the rain on the next days, they were completed on 6 December, 1979 The local junior and primary schools took part in the sports with great enthusiasm and competitive spirit The students of the Vidyāmandir Pāthasālā and the Mahārāja Kumar himself took part in all the sports Judges were Śri Asok Kumar Singh, Virendra Kumar Sharma, Principal of Balvant Singh Degree College, Gangapur and Mr Śricandra Datta on 28 November and also the P S Commander of police in addition of the first previous two on 6 December, 1979 On 28 November the sports took place inside the palace while on 6 December they were organized in the grounds adjacent to the Fort The prizes were distributed by the Mahārāja Kashirāj The Trust popularizes cricket by holding cricket matches on sundays on P A C ground

MAHARAJA BANARAS VIDYĀMANDIR TRUST

Vedic Bālaka Vasant Pūjā

On Wednesday 29 November, 1979 in the morning a vedic Bal aka Vasant Puja was performed by sixteen Vedic students under 15 years of age from Varānasi They recited by heart the vedic mantras in the Devi Mandir with due ceremonial rites Dakṣinā was given to them after the Pūjā and the children were fed

Painting Competition

1 On 3 December 1979 a painting on spot competition was organized among the students of the local schools for art-painting Three hundred children took part in the competition Prizes were distributed among the children.

अधुना विश्वसस्कृतप्रतिष्ठानस्य स्थापन जातम् । सर्वभारत यकाशिराज-न्यासस्याध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्त काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिहमहोदया अस्य प्रतिष्ठानस्याध्यक्षा नियुक्ता । श्रीदेवदत्त प्रतिष्ठानस्य कार्यसचिवो नियुक्त । अस्य प्रतिष्ठानस्य कार्यसमिते प्रथमा सभा १३–१४ अक्टूबर १९७९ दिनायो काश्या नन्देश्वरभवने जाता यत्र सस्कृतस्थाभ्युत्थानार्थ बहव प्रस्तावा पारिता. । प्रतिष्ठानाध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भि काशिनरेशै प्रतिष्ठानस्य सर्वविध-साहाय्यार्थमेक वक्तव्यमपि प्रदत्तम् ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराजप्रभुनारायणसिह फिजिकल कल्चरल ट्रस्ट

महाराजकुमारस्य श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिहस्य वर्धापनदिवसावसरे अनेन न्यासेन स्थानिकपाठशालाना बालकाना कृते दिनद्वयात्मिका क्रीडाप्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । नियमत २८ नवम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के क्रीडा प्रारब्धा जाता । किन्तु २९ नवम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के घोरा वृष्टिर्जाता अत ६ दिसम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के एषा क्रीडाप्रतियोगिता अन्तिमरूपेण समाप्ता । स्थानिकप्राथमिकपाठ-शालाना लघुमाध्यमिकपाठशालाना च विद्यार्थिन अस्या प्रतियोगितायामतीवो-त्साहेन स्पर्धया च सम्मिलिता बभूवु । प्रथमदिननिर्णायकेषु श्रीअशोककुमारसिह , महाराजबलवन्तसिहमहाविद्यालयस्य प्राचार्य श्रीवीरेन्द्रकुमारशर्मा तथा श्री एस० सी० दत्त आसन् । ६ दिसम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के श्री अशोककुमारसिह , श्री श्रीशचन्द्रदत्तस्तथा पी० ए० सी० रामनगरस्थस्य सेनानायक निर्णायका आसन् । २८ नवम्बर दिनाङ्के प्रतियोगिता' दुर्गे सम्पन्ना ६ दिसम्बर दिनाङ्के च इमा प्रतियोगिता. दुर्गसलग्ने 'खन्दक' प्राङ्गणे सपन्ना' ।

महाराजबनारस विद्यामन्दिरन्यासः

वटिकबालकवसन्तपूजा

२९ नवम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के बुधवासरे प्रात काले वाराणसीवासिभि-रूनपञ्चदशवर्षीये षोडशवैटिकं वैटिकवसन्तपूजा सपादिता। तै. देवीमन्दिरे यथा-विधि कण्ठस्थ वेदपाठं कृतम् । पूजानन्तर तेभ्यो दक्षिणा दत्ता बालकाश्च भोजिता ।

चित्रकलाप्रतियोगिता

१ ३ दिसम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के 'तत्कालचित्रकला प्रतियोगिता' स्थानिकपाठशालाना छात्राणा कृते आयोजिता आसीत् । त्रिशतसख्याका बालका प्रतियोगितायां समाविष्टा आसन् । बालकेभ्य' पुरस्कारा प्रदत्ता. ।

2 A painting competition was held among the local potter artists on 3 December, 1979 Eleven artists competed for the wall paintings of the external walls of the Museum in the Fort, Rāmnagar. The subject of the pictures was almost always a religious one, dealing mainly with Rāma, Kṛsna and Śiva Rs 101/– were given as first prize, Rs 75/– as second, Rs 65/– as third Consolation prizes of Rs. 50/– each were also distributed to all the other artists

3 On the same date a competition of wall-painting was organized also for the students of the Fine Art Deptt of the Banaras Hindu University The paintings were done on the walls of the Vidyāmandir courtyard in the inner part of the palace Some of them were depicted in modern style Rs 51/– were given as first prize, Rs. 45/– as second and Rs 20/– to all the other artists

The Head of Deptt of Fine Arts B. H U judged the paintings

Bāla-śāstrārtha

Under the auspices of Mahārāja Banaras Vidyāmandir Trust an intellectual competition among students (Bāla-śāstrārtha) on Nyāya was organized on 7 December, 1979, in which the students of the Vidyamandir and Udyāna Pāthaśālās took part The Mahārāja Kumār Śrī Anant Narain Singh also participated in the competition Some of the most important pandits of the town were present, among them Śrī Jayaram Shastri Shukla of the Vidyāmandir Pāthaśālā was the Niyāmaka (Supervisor), while Swami Krishna Swami, Dr Ramchandra Shastri Hoshmane of the Sangaveda Vidyalaya and Pt Viswanāth Shastri Dātār of the Sampūrnānanda Sanskrit Visvavidyālaya were the judges

Reception at Palace

A group of about 50 Epigraphists from all over the world were received by the Chairman of the Trust, Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh on 20 December, 1979 in the Vidyāmandir ground They were offered sweets and tea The Scholars were in Rāmnagar for an international Seminar on 'Indian Epigraphy Its bearing on Art History', organized by the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS) in Ramnagar The Director General of Archeology, Govt of India, Delhi, Prof D. C Sircar, Prof K G. Krishnan, Chief

२. तस्मिन्नेव दिने स्थानिककुम्भकाराणां कृते चित्रकला प्रतियोगिता आसीत्। रामनगरदुर्गे विद्यामन्दिरसंग्रहालयस्य बाह्यभित्तीनां चित्रणे एकादश कलाकाराः संलग्नाः जाताः। चित्रस्य विषयः प्रायेण रामकृष्णशिवादिदेवानां चरित्राङ्कनमुद्दिश्य धार्मिक एवासीत्। एकाधिकशतरूप्यकाणां प्रथमः पुरस्कारः गोपालनाम्ने पञ्चसप्ततिरूप्यकाणां द्वितीयः पुरस्कारः मुन्नीलालाय रघुनाथाय च पञ्चषष्ठिरूप्यकाणां तृतीयः पुरस्कारः दयाशंकराय शेषेषु सर्वेषु प्रत्येकेभ्यः पञ्चाशद्रूप्यकाणां सांत्वनापुरस्काराश्च प्रदत्ताः।

३. तस्मिन् एव दिने काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य चित्रकला महाविद्यालयस्य छात्राणां कृते अपि भित्तिचित्रकलाप्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत्। एतत् चित्रणं विद्यामन्दिरप्राङ्गणस्य भित्तिषु संजातम्। तेषु केचन आधुनिककलायाः प्रदर्शनं कृतवन्तः। एकपञ्चाशद्रूप्यकाणां प्रथमपुरस्कारः पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्रूप्यकाणां द्वितीयपुरस्कारः चत्वारिंशद्रूप्यकाणां तृतीयपुरस्कारश्च प्रदत्ताः। कलाविभागस्य विभागाध्यक्षो निर्णायक आसीत्।

बालशास्त्रार्थः

७ दिसम्बर १९७९ दिनाङ्के महाराजवनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य संरक्षणे न्यायविषये बालकानां शास्त्रार्थः संपन्नः यस्मिन् विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालायाः उद्यानपाठशालायाश्च छात्राः समाविष्टाः। महाराजकुमारः श्री अनन्तनारायणसिंहोऽपि शास्त्रार्थे समाविष्टः। नगरस्य केचन विशिष्टा विद्वांसोऽपि उपस्थिता आसन्। तेषु विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालायाः प्राध्यापकः पण्डितजयरामशास्त्रीशुक्लः नियामक आसीत् श्रीकृष्णस्वामी (पूर्वं पण्डितगणपतिशास्त्री हेब्बार इति नाम्ना प्रथितः), पं० रामचन्द्रशास्त्री होशमने तथा पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारः निर्णायका आसन्।

दुर्गे अभिनन्दनम्

विश्वस्य विविधभागेभ्य आगता प्रायः पञ्चाशत्संख्याका अभिलेखशास्त्रविशेषज्ञाः रामनगरदुर्गे न्यासस्याध्यक्षैः काशिनरेशैस्तत्रभवद्भिर्महाराजैः डा० विभूतितारायणसिंहमहोदयैर्विद्यामन्दिरप्राङ्गणे सत्कृताः। तेभ्योऽल्पाहारश्च प्रदत्तः। एते विद्वांसः 'अमेरिकन इन्स्टीच्यूट आफ इण्डियन स्टडीज' संस्थया आयोजिते 'भारतीयाभिलेखशास्त्रं—तस्य कला—इतिहासो प्रभावः' इति विषयके सम्मेलने आगता आसन्। भारतशासनस्य पुरातत्त्वविभागस्य भू० पू० निदेशकः, डा० डो० सी० सरकारमहोदयः, आर्कालाजिकल सर्वे आफइण्डिया संस्थाया

Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India and various Directors of Archaeological Deptts of States attended the Seminar During the reception the Purāna Deptt of the All-India Kashiraj Trust put a stall with all the publications of the Department Several Scholars showed keen interest in the publications of the critical edition of the Purāṇas, of the Bulletin and of the other studies published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust. All the pandits of the Purana Deptt attended the reception

MAHARAJA KASHINARESH DHARMAKĀRYA NIDHI

The Trust gives donations to several religious and cultural institutions such as the Viśva Hindu Sammelan, Girvāṇavāgvardhinī Sabhā of Vārāṇasī The Trust gives medals and prizes in the Benares Hindu University, Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Kashinaresh Degree College (Jāānpur) and various other Colleges The Trust is also running the following educational institutions

1 Mahārāṇi Ramratna Kumvari Sanskṛta Pāṭhaśālā Rāmnagar

The school imparts Sanskrit education since 1923 A D when it was established by the then Mahārāṇi The teachings at present go upto the Uttara Madhyama (High Secondary) examination of Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Vārāṇasī The School is being re-organized by Pt Dāmodara Jhā

2 Mahārāja Balvant Singh Degree College—Gaṅgāpur

This college was established in September, 1972 at Gangāpur (Varanasi) the birth-place of late Mahārāja Balvant Singh, founder of the Kashinagya at Rāmnagar The college has eleven classrooms and a hall and imparts education in Arts upto the Degree examinations of the university of Gorakhpur in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu English, Economics, Political Sciences, History, Psychology, Sociology, Education, Geography and Indian Culture.

In 1979-80 session 79 students are admitted in B A Part I The College has also a large library and play grounds Special scholarships to poor and destituted students Famous professors from other places are also invited to deliver lectures to the students

3 Rājā Mānasārām Law College, Rājātālāb

This college was established in November, 1973 at Rājātālāb which is at a distance of about 15 Km from Vārāṇasī It is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University In 1979-80 session 121 students are admitted in LL. B Part I. The members of the staff are five

अभिलेख विभागस्य प्रधान डा० के० जी० कृष्णन् महोदय तथा प्रान्तीय-शासनानां पुरातत्त्वविभागानां बहव. अध्यक्षा समागता आसन् । अस्मिन् अवसरे सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागेन पुराणविभागस्य प्रकाशितग्रन्थाना प्रदर्शन विहितम् । आगतविद्वद्भि पुराणसस्करणे 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाम्, अन्येषु च ग्रन्थेषु स्वरुचि प्रदर्शिता । अस्मिन् अभिनन्दनोत्सवे पुराणविभागस्य सर्वे विद्वास उपस्थिता आसन् ।

महाराज काशिनरेशधर्मकार्यनिधिः

एष न्यासो विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलन-गीर्वाणवाग्वर्धिनीसभा वाराणसी प्रभृतिभ्य बह्वीभ्य: धार्मिकीभ्य. सास्कृतिकीभ्यश्च सस्थाभ्य साहाय्य प्रददाति ।

एष न्यास काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालये, सम्पूर्णानन्दसस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये ज्ञानपुरस्थे काशीनरेशमहाविद्यालये अन्यासु च सस्थासु पदकानि पुरस्काराश्च प्रददाति । एष न्यास. अधोनिर्दिष्टाना विद्यालयाना सञ्चालनमपि करोति—

१. रामनगरस्था महारानी रामरत्नकुँवरि सस्कृतपाठशाला

१९२३ खिष्ट्रीयवर्षे तत्कालीनया महाराज्ञ्या सस्थापितैषा पाठशाला संस्कृतस्य शिक्षणं प्रददाति । सप्रति पण्डितदामोदर झा महोदय अध्यापनं करोति । एषा पाठशाला सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य मध्यमाकक्षा-पर्यन्त शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति ।

२ महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालय

एष महाविद्यालय सितम्बर १९७२ वर्षे वाराणसीमण्डलस्य गङ्गापुर-नामके स्थाने स्थापित । इद स्थान वर्तमानकाशिराज्यस्य सस्थापकस्य श्रीमतो बलवन्तसिंहमहाराजस्य जन्मस्थानमस्ति । महाविद्यालये एकादशकक्षाणि एकं विशाल कक्षं च वर्तते । महाविद्यालये गोरखपुरविश्वविद्यालयस्य स्नातककक्षाणा कलासंकाये हिन्दी-सस्कृत-उर्दू-आग्लभाषा-अर्थशास्त्र-राजनीतिशास्त्र-इतिहास-मनोविज्ञान-समाजशास्त्र-शिक्षाशास्त्र-भूगोल-आदिविषयाणा शिक्षणं भवति ।

१९७९-८० वर्षस्य सत्रे एकोनाशीतिश्छात्रा बी० ए० प्रथमवर्षे प्रविष्टाः सन्ति । महाविद्यालये एक समृद्ध पुस्तकालय क्रीडाङ्गण च वर्तते । निर्धनेषु निराश्रितेषु च छात्रेषु विशेषमवधान दीयते । भाषणार्थम् अन्यस्थानाना विख्याता अध्यापका अपि आहूयन्ते ।

३. राजा मनसाराम विधिविद्यालय, राजातालाब

एष महाविद्यालय नवम्बर १९७३ वर्षे अक्षयनवम्या तिथौ वाराणसी-नगरत. पञ्चदश किलोमीटर दूरे राजातालाबनामके स्थाने स्थापित. । अस्मिन् महाविद्यालये गोरखपुरविश्वविद्यालयस्य एल-एल० बी० परीक्षार्थं प्रशिक्षणं भवति । अस्मिन् १९७९-८० सत्रे एल-एल० बी० प्रथमभागे १२१ छात्राः सन्ति । अत्र पञ्च अध्यापका. अध्यापनं कुर्वन्ति ।

GAYĀ MĀHĀTMYA

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(translated into English by Giorgio Bonazzoli with permission of the "Institut français d'Indologie—Pondichery)

(Continued from last issue)

Tiue, Vivien de Saint-Martin on his map of Magadha[98] puts a Dharmāraṇya to the north of Gayā, but he does not give any reason It is certain in any case that he does not rely on *Si-yu-ki* for doing that, because Hiuan-tsang does not mention a Dharmāraṇya

The problem of Dharmaprstha or Dharmapiastha is much more difficult The first difficulty comes from the fact that even the text of *Mahābhārata* is not clear in this context Two and a half *śloka*-s are missing in a great number of the MSS that V S Suktankar has used to prepare his edition and specially in all the southern manuscripts They are also missing in the *Padma-purāna*, which generally reproduces the northern manuscripts[99], and in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*[100] Under these conditions it can be asked if these *śloka* s are not due to a later interpolation If we suppose that they are really part of the original *Mahābhārata* then the following is stated one should first go into the Dharmapṛstha, fetch water up in a well situated there and do a *tarpana*, one should enter the Mataṅga *āśrama*, then one should touch (or sprinkle) a statue of Dharma—this reading is not available in all the manuscripts—lastly one should resort to the *tirtha* of Brahman, before going towards Rājagṛha If we now take the *Gayā-māhātmya*,[101] we realize in fact that towards the Dharmāraṇya there is the Mataṅgavāpī, a temple of Mataṅgeśa, a *tirtha* of Brahman and a well But this *tirtha* and this well are mentioned only in some manuscripts of the *Gayā-māhatmya* and they are not mentioned in the editions of the *Vāyu-māhātmya*, whose text was possibly fixed before that of the isolated *Gayā-mahātmya* Then again following the *Gayā-māhātmya* one should leave the Dharmāraṇya and should go to great Dharma, then the Mahābodhi tree In the whole passage, the *Gayā-māhātmya* lacks completely transitions but according to what we can see today, it is quite clear that the Dharmāraṇya and Bodh-Gayā cannot be confused as being one place, as Barua improperly thinks. The Dharmāraṇya, the Mataṅgavāpī and the Mataṅgeśa temple are situated in the peninsula formed by the confluence of Mahānadī and Lilājan, called Nairañjanā by Buddhists Bodh-Gayā is situated at about three kilometres from there

98 *Memoire analytique sur la carte de l' Asie centrale et de l'Inde* par Vivien de Saint-Martin, Paris, 1858

99 See further, pp 38 ff

100. See further, pp 45 ff

101. VII 29-33

and on the other bank of the Lilājan. In fact, what led Barua into error is that he is convinced that Dharma is here the same as the Buddha Nothing allows us to affirm it God Dharma is sufficiently attested in this area of Gayā so that there is no need for this supposition On the other hand, I have not found in any dictionary the term *dharma* as designating the Buddha Lastly it is not known if the Hindus used to go in pilgrimage to Bodh Gayā in early times Barua[102] writes . In connection with Dharmaprastha, however, the Epics extol the merit of touching Dharma (*dharmam abhisamspṛśya*), which would be meaningless if not interpreted as signifying an image of the Buddha. Why then is there no statue of God Dharma ? This god is celebrated throughout the *Mahābharata* without any attempt of any sort anywhere to assimilate him to the Buddha One cannot then take seriously Barua's hope of dating this text bearing in mind that there is no representation of the Buddha before the Gandhāra art epoch

It is possible, therefore, to consider Dharmāraṇya and Dharmaprastha as one place, provided that we do not put it at Bodh-Gayā This hypothesis could also be corroborated by the fact that a Dharmapastha near the Matangavāpī is mentioned in [illegible] But there is still another hypothesis regarding the Dharmaprastha and in my opinion more probable The several readings of the *Mahābhārata* and *Gayā-māhātmya* suggest that there could have been a mixing up of indications in the two texts The Dharmaprastha of the *Mahābharata* was possibly identified later with the actual Dharmāraṇya and then *śloka*-s were introduced in the *Māhātmya* where Mataṅga enters into the picture On the other hand this Brahman *tīrtha* which is never mentioned as being in connection with Dharmāraṇya could be added into *Gayā-māhātmya*. But where should then the Dharmāraṇya be placed ? Reading the *Mahābharata*, we find that the pilgrims come from Benares and go immediately to Rājagṛha Coming from Benares, they passed in front of Akṣaya-vaṭa, then they bathe in the [illegible] of Phalgu[104] After having completed a part of their pilgrimage, they go to Yonidvāra, which can be identified doubt

101. *Op. cit.*, pp 80-81
103. See further, pp 47-48
104. See above, p. 10.

lessly with the actual Brahmayoni[105] then they once more go to the Phalgu before leaving Gayā As they go then to Rājagrha it is much easier to think that they make for the north Had they gone to the actual Dharmāraṇya, their way would have taken them compulsorily to Gayā, and it is at that moment that one would expect the last bath in the Phalgu But we have seen[106] that Hiuan-tsang has pointed out a *tīrtha* at 30 li to the north of Gayā I have supposed that could be the *brahmanas tīrtham* of the *Mahābhārata*, the actual Brahmakuṇḍa This one is situated at the foot of a hill nowadays called Pretaśilā whose sides—I am told—are populated with Dharma-Yama archers Let us now note here that the priests of this hill are called *Dhāmin*, without any doubt "those of Dharma"[107] It is then perhaps not too audacious to suppose that this hill was called Dharmaprstha

I have then to note some blanks in this chapter 83, of *Mahābhārata*, particularly that of Viṣṇupāda, which is the most sacred and renowned of modern Gayā P V Kane[108] reproaches Barua for concluding from the fact that in this chapter there is no mention of the Viṣṇupāda that this temple did not exist at the time when this part of the *Mahābhārata* was written P V Kane thinks that the *argumentum a silentio* has no value, and he tries to show that the here given description of Gayā is not necessarily complete and that the list of *tīrtha-s* is not exhaustive Particularly, he points out that at the time of the pilgrimage by Aṅgiras the three *tīrtha-s* which are there mentioned for Gayā are present only in this chapter. There is in fact the following *śloka*

aśmaprsthe gayāyām ca niravinde ca parvate /
rtīyām krauñcapadyām ca brahmahatyām viśudhyate//[109]

Let us note first of all that the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha cannot be utilized. He identifies aśmaprstha with Pretaśilā, he

105. Brahmayoni is the name of the hill, probably formerly called Gayāśiras It is also the name of an anfractuosity in a rock situated at the top of this hill.

106 See above, p 25

107 Renou has kindly informed us that *dhāmin* derives in fact from *dhāma n*), "abode" This remark deprives our thesis of an argument Our thesis, however, does not seem to be less tenable

108 P V Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol IV, Poona, 1953, pp 648-650

109. *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparvan* (XIII), edited by R Kinjawadekar, Poona, 1933, ch 25, *śl* 42.

glosses mount Niravinda with 'sukhagandhahīna' and for him the Krauñcapadī is the place where there are Viṣṇu and the other gods' foot-prints.

The *Kṛtyakalpataru* quotes this very *śloka* under the following form.[110]

muṇḍapṛṣṭhaṁ Gayāṁ caiva nairṛtaṁ devaparvatam/
tṛtīyāṁ krauñcapādīṁ ca brahmahatyā vimucyate//

and it is again found in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*[111] under this form:

Gayāyāṁ muṇḍapṛṣṭhañ ca aravindañ ca parvatam/
tṛtīyāṁ krauñcapādañ ca dṛṣṭvā pāpaiḥ pramucyate//

Probably in these conditions the difficulty of the verse comes from its being very corrupt. Nīlakaṇṭha is tempted to explain an incorrect *śloka* according to what he could know about Gayā.

This having said, we should also note at the same time that the *tīrtha*-s are enumerated in this chapter in considerable disorder and that at least another *tīrtha* of Gayā is displaced. The Brahmasaras, which is mentioned in *śloka* 58, is described in the same terms as in chapter 82 of the *Vanaparvan* (*tathā brahmasaro gatvā dharmāraṇyopaśobhitam*). In fact, one cannot rely on this chapter, where the interpolations are surely numerous, and where too many great centres of pilgrimage are missing, as Kurukṣetra. We know that not all the *tīrtha*-s of Gayā are necessarily gathered in the list given by the *Vanaparvan* in chapter 82. The name of Gayāśiras, which was very important, is particularly missing (but not the Brahmayoni, which is at its top). It is anyway quoted elsewhere. The silence on the Viṣṇupāda at Gayā instead is absolute. Moreover, in the texts having a date, that is in the Middle-Ages compilations, it will be found neither in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* nor in the *Smṛticandrikā*, and it will be necessary to wait for the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* to find it described. We shall see later why we have to think that the Viṣṇupāda, mentioned in the *Nirukta*, should not be confused with that of Gayā[112]. It is childish to try to find it by all means and therefore to discover it under the *sāvitram padam*, as

110. *Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthaviveccanakāṇḍam*, G. O. S. no. XCVIII p. 172.
111. LXXXIII. 47.
112. See further.

J. C. Ghose does in his article on 'Antiquity of Gayā'[113]. Why should have the name of this foot-print been concealed under a false name ? Under these circumstances, the *argumentum a silentio* rejected by P. V. Kane retains all its strength. One could hardly explain otherwise what kind of silent conspiracy prevented Gayā's most sacred point to be ever mentioned for more than a millennium. It is easy to find evidence from what is quoted in the *Purāṇa*-s—it is still not found in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* whose *Gayā-māhātmya* is very important—because they can hardly be dated. It seems that for this we should adopt R. C. Hazra's[114] prudent method and rely on the Middle-Ages compilations, which are much surer from the date point of view. We can then almost affirm that the Viṣṇupāda did not exist at Gayā at the time when this passage of the *Mahābhārata* was composed.

The Rāmāyaṇa

The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes only a very short reference to Gayā in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, ch. 107.[115]

śrūyate dhīmatā tāta śrutir gītā yaśasvinā /
gayena yajamānena gayeṣveva *pitṛn* prati //11
punnāmno narakād yasmāt pitaraṁ trāyate sutaḥ /
tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ *pitṛn* yaḥ pāti sarvataḥ //12
eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā guṇavanto bahuśrutāḥ /
teṣāṁ vai samavetānām api kaścid gayāṁ vrajet //13
evaṁ rajarṣayaḥ sarve pratītā raghunandana /
tasmāt trāhi naraśreṣṭha pitaraṁ narakāt prabho //14

The king Gaya is here associated with the town Gayā and, on the other hand, the town is clearly in relation with the cult of the dead. But we can note that the *śloka-s* ascribed to king Gaya, the *śloka-s* 12 and 13, are very common in the whole literature concerning Gayā. The first one is found, with some variants, in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 68.38 and 220.14) and in *Manu* (IX. 138) particularly. The second one, in slightly different form, but still recog-

113. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXIV, part III, sept. 1938.

114 *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Calcutta, 1949.

115. We have used the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, with three commentaries called Tilak, Shiromani, and Bhooshana... edited by S. S. K. Nudholkare, Bombay, n. d.

nizable, is available also in the *Mahābhārata* (III 82.85) and in several *purāna-s*. On the other hand, it is difficult not to realize the accidental character of this reference to Gayā These four *śloka-s* are badly linked with what precedes and what follows In fact, Rāma explains why he cannot sit on the throne, and recalls the promise formerly made by Daśaratha to his bride These four verses seem to be led by *'pitaram trāhi dharmajña'* of *śloka* 10, where *'trāhi'* is to be understood as 'free our father (by being faithful to his word)' and not 'free our father (from hell)', as what follows can let us think Moreover, Rāma continues by asking of Bharata to go to Ayodhyā, forgetting completely Gayā A *śloka* of the *Gayā-māhātmya* (IV 27) tells us meanwhile that Bharata had come to Gayā while Rāma was in the forest It is perhaps an answer to these fours verses Be that as it may, these *śloka-s* seem really to be a late interpolation, they have, therefore, for what concerns us, a very limited interest

But the fact that there is practically no mention of Gayā in the *Rāmāyana* is to be remembered, since Rāma is several times mentioned in the *Gayā-māhātmya*, particularly in chapter IV (*śl* 16-20), where he gives origin to a *tirtha* by bathing in the Mahā-nadī with Sītā, and in chapter VII (*śl* 74-79), where we are told that he performed a *śrāddha* on Rudra's foot-print. On the other hand, two hills preserve his souvenir at present time, Rāmaśilā hill and Rāma-Gayā hill. All these souvenirs are more recent that the *Rāmāyana*, they date no doubt from relatively recent times, when the cult of Rāma was widespread in India.

GAYĀ AND THE PURĀNA-S

The *purāna-s* deal abundantly with Gayā, the sacred town, none of them passes over it completely in silence But it would be too long and tedious to examine all the quotations which can be found in these texts. We shall content ourselves with examining the most noteworthy passages

Padma-purāna—The *Padma-purāna* devotes 20 *śloka*-s to Gayā[116] These *śloka* s reproduce those found in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 82) M. V. Vaidya has shown[117] that the *Padma-purāna* has

116 *Padma-purāna*, Ānandāśrama, Series, no. 131, Poona, 1893, I 38 2-22.

117 Tirtha-Yātrā in the Āranyakaparvan and the Padma-purāna, in *A Volume of studies in Indology*, presented to Prof P. V. Kane, Poona, 1941, pp 530 ff

taken this passage from the *Mahābhārata*. His contention is quite convincing, so there is no need of any farther comment. The readings of the *purāṇa* are, usually, the same as those available in the Bengali manuscripts. The most interesting variant is perhaps the one which gives *brahmāraṇyopavesitam* (*śl.* 5), in place of *dharmāraṇyopaśobhitam* which is found most frequently in the *Mahābhārata*. This variant confirms us in the opinion that the Dharmāraṇya spoken of in the epic is not a very important place as its name is easily modified. It has, moreover, nothing to do with the one which can be seen at present. The omission of two *śloka*-s and a half[118] can also suggest that these *śloka*-s were added later, owing to an *interference* with the *Gayāmāhātmya* text.

Bṛhan-nāradīya-purāṇa—The *Nārada-purāṇa* devotes 246 *śloka-s* distributed in 4 *adhyāya-s* to its *Gayāmāhātmya*. Unluckily for our purpose, this important passage concerns only the literary history. In fact, it is a borrowing and, what is more, from a text of late period, the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*. In order to compose its *Gayāmāhātmya*, the *purāṇic* author reproduces in the same order the *śloka-s* of the chapter of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* dealing with Gayā. He has left out naturally all the glosses not written in verses, which leads sometimes to incoherence. On the other hand, the comparison between the two texts proves that it is the *Nārada-purāṇa*, that is the borrower, and not vice versa.

Varāha-purāṇa—The *Varāha purāṇa* has no *Gayāmāhātmya*, properly speaking. But there is a chapter, the 7th, which tells us a legend referring to the pilgrimage to Gayā. Varāha narrates here to Dharaṇi that Raibhya went to Gayā to pay honour to his ancestors. While he was applying himself to a *tapas*, Sanatkumāra appeared to him and narrated the story of king Viśāla which is available in the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, ch. VIII, *śloka*-s 8-16[119], but in different words, which excludes direct borrowing, and in a little more circumstantial way. Then, after saying that Gayā derived its fame from the presence of *Gadādhara*, Sanatkumāra disappeared. Raibhya then hails Gadādhara with a *stotra* different from that of *Gayāmāhātmya*, vv. 25ff. It is not at all necessary to think that this legend has some connection with the cult of

118. cf. above, p. 32-33.

119. It is also available in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* and the *Agni-purāṇa*.

Gadādhara Indeed, the few *śloka-s* said by Sanatkumāra in praise of this god are very loosely linked with the preceding legend This legend, therefore, can be much older than the context in which it is inserted On the other hand, it must have been relatively popular, because it is narrated in several different works and it is given here in such terms that exclude any reciprocal borrowing

Skanda-purāna—The *Skanda-purāna*, although late, is very interesting for our study on Gayā B M Barua gives first of all the quotation from the Nāgara-khanda, which he must have read very quickly, as the facts are not exactly as he reports There are first of all the following *śloka-s* which are an answer to some *ṛṣi-s* who were asking for a description of the *tīrtha-s* of Camatkārapura, alias Ānandapura, capital of Hātakeśvarakṣetra :

pañcakrośapramāṇena kṣetram brāhmaṇasattamāḥ /
āyāmavyāsataś caiva camatkārapurottamam //
prācyām tasya gayāśīrṣam paścimena hareḥ padam /
dakṣiṇottarayoś caiva gokarṇeśvarasamjñitau //[120]

We see, first, that this is not exactly a replica of Gayā there is certainly a *Gayāśīrṣa* and a *Hareḥ pada*, but they are orientated in a completely different way Moreover the two Gokarṇeśvara-s are not available at Gayā Further, in chapter 24, there is a *māhātmya* of the Viṣṇupāda corresponding to Hareḥ pada Its origin, however, is linked back, as Barua says, to the legend of the deva Bali and of Vāmana That is enough to show that this Viṣṇupada has no relation with that of Gayā The Viṣṇupadi coming forth from the Viṣṇupāda is elsewhere rightly called Viṣṇupadi-Gangā, but that flows far from Gayā It is besides, not worthy that the name itself of Gayā is never met with in the description of the Viṣṇupadi-Gangā

On the other hand, it is just Gayā that is dealt with in the legend of the origin of the Gayaśirā or Gayāsiras In this legend it is learnt that king Vidūratha, being asked by three *preta-s* to free them, went on the Gayaśiras at Gayā and there he had *śrāddha-s* performed But two *preta-s* only were liberated in this way as the third one, Kṛtaghna had perpetrated too big a crime to be pardoned so easily The king, not knowing what to do, asked of

120 Nagara-khanda, 17 3 and 4

Kitaghna the means for liberating him and he answered :

camatkārapure bhūpa śrīksetre hātakeśvare /
āste pāmsubhir ācchannam kaler bhītam gayāsirah //[121]

This Gavāsiras, therefore, appears in history after the Gayāsiras of Gayā, as it had been concealed under dust owing to its too great efficiency This shows in any case that Camatkārapura tries to compete with Gayā not by making the eulogy of its Visnupāda, but by trying to show the superiority of its Gayāsiras Perhaps the explanation is that at the time when this *māhātmya* was written, the Visnupāda at Gayā had not yet reached that celebrity it has nowadays The only famous place which one could try to find for competing with it was the Gayāsiras If we accept that, it might be possible then, as suggested by B M Barua, that this later Gayāsiras was created to avoid too long a journey for the pilgrims But it is even more likely that this replica of the Gayāsiras was not made for a humanitarian aim Those who have tried to launch it, without much success it seems, had rather seen in it a source of profit This is not on the other hand the only example

There is, in fact, in the *Skanda purāna* a *Gayāmāhātmya* of which B M Barua does not speak, which is, nevertheless, not negligible It constitutes the chapters 57, 58 and 59 of the *Āvantya-khanda* We wonder at first, along with Vyāsa (57 3 and 4), to discover Gayā at Avanti, but a *śloka* informs us

evam Vyāsa gayātīrtham purāvantyām pratisthitam/
pascāt tu kaikate jātam yatra samnihito'surah // [122]

So then in Avanti would have existed a Gayā, whose presence is pointed out only by the *Skanda-purāna*, to our knowledge Moreover, this Gayā would be a kind of prototype of which the Gayā of the Kikata-s would be only a copy This Gayā would be, or it would have been near Mahākālavana, that is Ujjaini[123] In fact, the description given of this *tīrtha* enlightens us in a singular manner

yatra gayā mahāpunyā phalgus caiva mahānadi /
purusottamagirinestho yatra buddhagayā smrtā//[124]

121 Nāgara khanda, 19 25
122 Āvatya-khanda, 59 10
123 Āvantya-khanda, 57 25
124. This half-*śloka* has 17 syllables.

tatharvādyagayā khyātā trisu lokesu visrutā/
visnoh sodasapadīrtham gadādharavinirmitam//[124]
sarvapāpaharā punyā yatra prācī sarasvatī/
mahāsuranadī proktā yatra tisthati punyadā/
nyagrodhas cāksayo nityah purā prokto maharsinā/
tatraiva sā silā proktā pretamoksakarī subhā//[125]

First of all, we have to note the absence of Gayāsiras which is named only once in these chapters in the well-known half-*śloka* 'pañcakrosam gayākseuam krosam ekam gayāsirah' Nothing shows that Gayāsiras existed in the Gayā of Avantī We have then a quite modern description of Gayā, where the Gayāsiras has lost all its importance And it is not difficult to see which one has tried to copy the other, when we are told that Buddha-Gayā is on Purusottamagiri near Ujjain ! This mention of Buddha-Gayā, moreover, as well as the mention of sodasapadīrtha makes it certain that this text is completely recent, as it is the only place, besides the travellers-reports of the last century where we find them mentioned under this name As for Buddha-Gayā, it seems that there is here one of the rare evidences of this word in Sanskrit literature In fact, the dictionaries of Bohtlingk-Roth quote this word only for referring to different works on Buddhism written by Europeans, so that it is difficult to say at which moment this term appeared It seems, however, that this happened at a very late period

The sodasapadīrtha is not mentioned in the *Gayāmāhātmya* but this *tīrtha* gathers all the *pada-s* quoted in the *Gayāmāhātmya*, chapter VII, *śloka-s* 52 to 63 It is not certain, however, that all these *pada-s* where once all gathered in only one place, as they are today On the contrary, certain hints lead us to think that they, or at least some among them were scattered all over the territory of Gayā

One can realize the importance of the *Skanda-purāna*. We have seen that the two passages we have studied cannot be placed in the same epoch, the first one being incontestably older than the second Unluckily we cannot be more specific We think, however, that in two quite different moments of history, the fame of Gayā was great

125 ibid 57 29 to 33, cf also 58. 4 and 5

enough to make people think of creating a replica of it in Indian regions quite distant from Bihar

Garuda-purāna—The *Garuda-purāna* also has been passed over in silence by B M Barua We shall see, however, that the chapters 82, 83, 84, 85 and 86 of this purāṇa are important, not only for their length, but also for the new elements they supply

Chapter 82 relates a legend of the *asura* Gaya considerably different from the *Vāyu-purāna's* The *asura* Gaya performs a *tapas* which disturbs the gods They take shelter in Viṣṇu, who tells them that everything will be in order when the *asura* lies down One day, Gaya went to pluck lotuses on the Ocean of Milk to do a pūjā to Śiva and he lay down there in the country of the Kikata-s When Viṣṇu killed him with his club, a certain number of gods gathered around his body Viṣṇu then declared that the territory delimited by the body of the *asura* Gaya will be holy Brahman, therefore, came there to perform a sacrifice and gave rich fees to the sacrificers As later on the brāhmaṇa-s showed too much avidity in the sacrifices to Dharma, Brahman took back what he had given them, but he established them as priests of Gayā

One can see the differences with the legend narrated in chapter 2 of *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāna* We should say, however, that there are considerable differences between the edition we have used[126] and the translation of M N Dutt On the other hand, Brahman, who tells the story, informs us at the beginning that he will tell it briefly

In spite of that our *asura* is here śaivite, the *asura* does not shake and the legends of Gayā and of Brahman's sacrifice are clearly separate This last difference seems to show indeed that the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Garuda-purāna* is antecedent to the *Vāyu-purāna's*. Other indications will corroborate this hypothesis

Chapter 83 gives the list of a certain number of holy spots at Gayā Chapter 84 shows how to do the Gayā pilgrimage in 5 days It presents several analogies with chapter 7 of *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāna* Chapter 85 gives us the *mantra-s* to be recited on Pretaśilā they are same as the ones we have in chapter 6 of the *Gayāmāhātmya* Finally, chapter 86 gives us some topographical

126. Jibananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1890

details and a list of deities present at Gayā A detailed survey of these chapters will show again that this *māhātmya* is earlier that the *Vāyu-purāna's* There we can also notice the absence of the Viṣṇupada We are told only that one has to perform a *śrāddha* on the Gayāsirsa devarudrapadādiṣu', it is then Rudra's foot which is made to stand out *Ādi* includes perhaps Viṣṇu's foot-prints, as the 'padatraye' of the next *śloka* But it is not specified and consequently one can deduce at least that the Viṣṇupada had no great importance at the time when this *māhātmya* was written

Agni-purāna—If the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Garuda-purāna* has very clear indications of being older than the *Vāyu-purāna*, that of the *Agni-purāna*, on the contrary, can be easily declared more recent. The *Agni-purāna* devotes 3 chapters to extoll Gayā chapters 114, 115 and 116 The first one tells us the legends of Gayā They are in actual fact the same as those of the *Vāyu-purāna* but summarized The difference, which, in our opinion, is very important, is that these legends are now perfectly in order Consequently, the legend of Dharmavrata and Marici is given from *śloka* 10, where 'śilā devamayi' is introduced In the same way, the legend of Viṣṇu's club is inserted in the story, at *śloka-s* 26 and 27 The next chapter sketches out the five-day-pilgrimage Chapter 116 gives the rites to be performed at a certain number of other spots. It could be considered in this case also as an excerpt, better ordained, of the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāna*

Vāyu-purana—Besides the last eight chapters we have already seen, the *Vāyu-purāna* speaks of Gayā several times[127], these few passages can be compared with the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the same *purāna* Never *asura* Gaya, but *rajarsi* Gaya comes into the picture There is a reference to a Viṣnupada, but it is a mountain, and in spite of what V. R R Dikshitar says in his *Purāna Index*, this Viṣṇupada is surely not that of Gayā There is also a long passage on Gayā, but it is given only in H N. Apte's edition[128] Besides the fact, then, that this passage is present only rarely, it seems to be also corrupted. Quotations of the *Gayāmāhātmya* are available, but they are often mutilated and badly linked with one another This passage then cannot be much utilized We see that there are some things only referring to Gayā in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, if we except

127 ex g 77 96-110, 80 45, 85. 19

128. 83 12-44.

the *Gayāmāhātmya* at the end. The latter is, in the opinion of everybody, a piece which was attributed later to what is, without any doubt, the oldest *purāṇa*.

GAYĀ AND THE MEDIEVAL COMPILATIONS

With the medieval compilations at last we arrive at texts which are dated or which can be, at least, approximately dated. The pieces of information given by this kind of texts will be, then, extremely precious for our history of this holy place.

Kṛtyakalpataru—The *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara is the oldest of these large medieval compilations. Its influence on the authors of following centuries was surely very great. In the later works, indeed, the *Kalpataru* is quoted like the *purāṇa-s* or the *Mahābhārata*, for instance. Lakṣmīdhara wrote his work between 1100 and 1150 A. D., probably during the second quarter of the 12th century, says Kane[129]. Lakṣmīdhara was minister of Govindacandra, king of Kanauj. We believe C. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who writes[130]: 'It is improbable that Lakṣmīdhara lacked personal knowledge of Gayā and its local traditions and customs or of its treatment in the Purāṇas, which were then in repute. When he omits to mention rules now in vogue, it is not unsafe to presume that either they came into effect after his time, or that he rejected their validity and declined to notice them in a work of authority.' We realize then that we can consult him with confidence. In part 8 of his work, called *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍam*, he devotes a long chapter to Gayā. After a short quotation from *Matsya-purāṇa*, he gives a great part of chapter 7 of the *Varāha-purāṇa*, with the story of Viśāla. At the end of this legend there are even the last *śloka-s* where the Gadādhara is mentioned, but it is possible that they have been added subsequently[131]. After a *śloka* from the *Brahma-purāṇa*, comes the legend of *preta-rāja* and the merchant according to the *Vāmana-purāṇa*[132]. This legend is available also in the *Gayāmāhātmya-s* of the *Garuḍa*,

129. *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, I., p. 317.
130. *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, edited by K. V. R. Aiyangar, GOS, vol. 98, Baroda, 1942—Introduction, p. lxxxvi.
131. cf. below, p. 49.
132. *Vāmana-purāṇa*, 79. *śl.* 64, 65, 67 and 69b to 73.

Vāyu and Agni purāṇa-s There are then two short quotations from the Vāyu-purāna and the Bṛhaspatismṛti and again a long quotation from the Vāyu-purāna[128] Evidence of some foot-prints is also available, specially those of Matanga in Bharatāśrama and those of Mahādeva on Mundapṛstha, and that confirms our hypothesis[131] that originally these foot-prints were scattered all over the territory of Gayā They must have come very likely from Bodh Gayā We note the absence of the *Viṣnupada* in this passage as in the whole chapter of the *Kalpataru* devoted to Gayā. The Mundapṛstha seems to have the importance it has in the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the Vāyu-purāna, i e it seems to be in fact the central point of the Gayākṣetra[132] The object of cult on this hill, then, would have not been the *Viṣnupada* but the *Mahādeva-pada* On the other hand we find the names of the ponds Kanakhala and Uttara mānasa probably also of Dakṣinamānasa, which is called simply Mānasa at times glossed in *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* with Dakṣinamānasa The information 'udicyām mundapṛsthasya' which is used to assign Kanakhala its place is rather vague, but it is taken by the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the Vāyu-purāna in 7 7 We would put this Kanakhala in the same place where it is nowadays, i e at the centre of Dakṣinamānasa pond

After this important quotation from the *Vāyu-purāna* come the two of the *Mahābhārata*, and first of all the excerpts of the three *Tīrtha-yātrā-s* already examined above About the *Pulastya-tīrtha* the same remarks can be made as the ones we made about the similar passage in the *Padma-purāna*[130] The third one is very much curtailed in fact, in the *Kalpataru* only *śloka*-s 9 to 14 are available in short, Lakṣmīdhara has suppressed the whole story of the great sacrifice of king Gaya It is not because he considers that legends present no interest as, previously, he has given two legends. Why then has he done this suppression? We can suppose that at the beginning of the 12th century, the Gayāsura

133 Vāyu-purāna, 77 śl. 96b to 100, 101 to 104, 105 106, half śl. not found, 108a and 109 Small mistake in Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, p 272, in connection with the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, which reproduces the *Kalpataru*

134 cf *supra*

135 cf *Gayāmāhātmya*, I 22, V 42, 43, 51, VII 28, 83, VIII 24 where this seems particularly clear

136 cf *supra*

legend was getting established. It was not so solid as to be narrated but at the same time it had enough substance to make people forget a little this great sacrifice. This is only a supposition, but no other reason can be found that could have induced Lakṣmīdhara to make such a suppression, it being granted that it is not likely he could ignore the legend. Moreover, he quotes again the *Mahābhārata* and gives exactly the one *śloka* and a half which alludes to this sacrifice[137]. But it is only to explain the presence of Sarasvatī at Gayā. Let us note, by the way, that Lakṣmīdhara's quotation is defective; he had to put a note to make it intelligible. At last, the *Kalpataru* gives one more *śloka* from the *Mahābhārata*, which we have studied at pag. 35 and to which then we shall not revert again.

The *Kalpataru* ends its chapter on Gayā with a certain number of short quotations. The *Vāmana-purāṇa*[138] informs us that the *asura* Prahlāda had come to Gayā to see Gopati, bathe in Brahman's pond and do his duty towards his ancestors. The *Matsya-purāṇa*[139] tells us that Gaurī calls upon Gayā Maṅgalā. The *Narasiṁha-purāṇa* and the *Yājñavalkya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Yama* and *Vasiṣṭha smṛti*-s are also quoted. These short excerpts do not call for any particular remark.

Smṛticandrikā[140]—Instead of selecting a certain number of references on Gayā from different places of Sanskrit literature, as Lakṣmīdhara had done, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, author of the *Smṛticandrikā* quotes in the first part only a long passage of an *Ādi-purāṇa* that Hazra[141] has shown to be different from the one available nowadays. According to P. V. Kane[142] the book should be dated around 1200 A. D. and not after 1225 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā* then is almost one century younger then the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. We are a little astonished to see that Devaṇabhaṭṭa speaks of Gayā in his *Āśaucakāṇḍa* rather than in the Śrāddhakāṇḍa where

137. *MBh*, IX. 38.20 and 21.
138. *Vāmana-purāṇa*, 83. *śl.* 4 and 5.
139. *Matsya-purāṇa*, 13. 35.
140. cf. *Smṛticandrikā*, *Āśauca Kāṇḍa*, edited by R. Sharma Sastry, Oriental Library Publications, Skr. Series, No. 56, Mysore, 1921.
141. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 301 and 350.
142. *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, I. 346.

we could expect it It does not seem to be different from th *Kalpataru*, but its author perhaps was no well acquainted with contemporary Gayā Possibly he relied on an ancient text The *tīrtha*-s, however, have multiplied in number in the sacred place We see also appear the five day *yātrā*, which will be found in all the later descriptions On the first day, rites at *Uttara-Mānasa* are performed, on the next Dharmaprstha is reached and a dip is taken in the Matanga-vāpī, on the third day, one goes to Brahman's pond, on the fourth to the Gayāsiras and on the fifth one goes towards the Aksayavata This is only a scheme, but it has been preserved till our days [113] Later only new material will be filled in by creating again new *tīrtha*-s We note, by the way, that there the Dharmaprstha is associated with Matanga-vāpi, which shows confusion between Dharmaprstha and Dharmāranya[144] We note also that the mention of *kūpa* and *yūpa* clearly indicates the remembrance of a sacrifice of Dharma

The rest of this long chapter is apparently in disorder There are some *śloka*-s found in the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāna*, chapter 1, there is a great part of the portion consecrated to Gayā in the chapter 82 of the *Āranyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, again there are some *śloka*-s traceable here and there, and finally a certain number of verses which seem to be original Still no trace of the Visnupada is found, but the verse saying that the *pada* of Mahādeva is on the Mundaprstha Among the new *tīrtha*-s we point out the mango trees mentioned in a verse found word for word in *Gayāmāhātmya* VII 40 and 42 [145], the Vaitarani with a rite for giving a cow, which is mentioned in the same work, VIII 26, a Masapada, signalled also by *Garuda-purāna*, 38 51, the Puskarini and the Susumnā, rivers or ponds, mentioned afterwards, but without much importance The second part is built up of short sentences of which no source is given and which say who has the right to perform *śrāddha*-s at Gayā

113 This is even the more curious since already the *MBh* extolled the two-for tnight stay at Gayā

114 cf. above p 32 ff

145. A line, p. 199, begins with *gopracāra* and ends with *brahmahalpitāh*, and the editor was not able to read the intervening words It can be easily recognized as the *śloka* 40 of *adhyāya* VII in *Gayāmāhātmya*

Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi—With the work of Vācaspati Miśra, we reach the second half of the 15th century[146] The *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* devotes to Gayā one *prakāśa* out of five[147] Vācaspati Miśra, like Lakṣmīdhara, whom he employs, was from Mithilā He also must have had a deep knowledge of Gayā Any omission in his work will look remarkable.

The *Tīrthacintāmaṇī* begins its account reproducing the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* without any change The second quotation, however, is new, it gives chapter 82 of the *Garuda-purāṇa* narrating the legend of the *asura* Gaya We note that it is the first time the *asura* appears in a *dated* text After *Garuda-purāṇa*, it quotes the *Varāha-purāṇa* according to the *Kṛtyakalpataru* as it says However it does not reproduce the first *śloka* which, indeed, did not have great interest, nor the last ones, which gave the name of Gadādhara, they were, on the contrary, extremely interesting Why does Vācaspati not have these *śloka-s* ? He knew perfectly well that Viṣṇu was honoured in the form of Gadādhara at Gayā, because he had just quoted the *Garuda-purāṇa* which gave an account of it The solution to this problem is perhaps that these *śloka-s* have been added to the *Kalpataru* later We have to be cautious about the presence of Gadādhara at Gayā since the 12th century The rest copies in full the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, the variants are very minor

The second part of the chapter of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* devoted to Gayā is equally very important as it gives the complete rites of the pilgrim at Gayā To describe them the author depends almost exclusively on the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, by quoting abundantly the *Gayā-māhātmya* of this purāṇa The divisions it introduces, as well as some of its commentaries, contribute to clarify and specify a text which needs it very often We should remark that the *Gayāmāhātmya* of the *Agni-purāṇa* does not yet enter into the picture, whereas the other *purāṇa-s* we have studied previously are all quoted (The *Skanda-purāṇa* describing other 'Gayā-s' than the one of Bihar has to be left out) This tends to confirm what we have said regarding the recent character of this *māhātmya*

146 Kane, *Hist of Dharm* (I, 399-405), agrees with another author to give 1450 to 1480 A D as date of his literary activity

147 *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Vacaspati Miśra, edited by Kamala Krishna Smṛititirtha, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 268 to 338

We have seen that the pilgrimage of Gayā is done in five days, following the *Smṛticandrikā*, which quotes an *Ādi-pur.*. Those five days are here preserved, but the number of *vedī-s* to visit is much increased. Besides, two more days are added at the beginning of the pilgrimage, during which are performed rites at *tīrtha-s* nowadays controlled by the *Dhāmin* priests, despised rivals of the *Gayāvāls*. At that time these *tīrtha-s* must have already been distinguished clearly. Vācaspati Miśra indeed explains first the rites of these two days and then he begins again from the first day, as if these days were not reckoned. The first day rites are performed at Pretaśilā, which is the actual Rāmaśilā—its position near the Mahānadī does not leave any doubt about it—and at Kākabalī, which is near this hill. The next day one resorts to Pretaparvata, which is the present Pretaśilā and to Brahmakuṇḍa. We shall see that nowadys one starts with Pretaśilā; and this is simply due to the change in the name of the hills.

We cannot enter very minutely into the rites of the Gayā pilgrimage in this introduction; we shall be content with making some remarks. The second day (in fact, the fourth one) one resorts to Dharmāraṇya and ends this day near the Mahābodhi tree. But here we do not find the *mantra* which is available in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. While the rites at the other *vedī-s* are described with many details, here no explanation is given. It is surely not an exaggeration, therefore, to say that in this period the rites at Bodh-Gayā were substantially reduced. On the fourth day the rites are performed at the *pada-s* on the Gayāśiras. We find that here the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* quotes the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, which puts the Viṣṇupada first, but it comments saying that the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* gives the Rudrapada in first place and therefore the first *śrāddha* is to be offered first on the Rudrapada, then on the Viṣṇupada, etc. This shows, it seems, that the primacy of the Viṣṇupada was not yet fully established and that at the time of Vācaspati Miśra, we are at a great turning point in the history of Gayā. We can note again that on the Gayāśiras a good number of *pada-s* are lacking, namely, the one quoted in the śloka-s 59,60 and 61 of chapter 7 of the *Gayāmāhātmya* and 'all the others' hinted together at 61b without naming them.

After the fifth day Vācaspati speaks of all the other *tīrtha-s* of Gayā. He quotes without any interruption great part of chapter VIII and chapter IV of the *Gayāmāhātmya*. This can indicate that

these two chapters were only one at the beginning and have been divided later on This Chapter IV gives the text we have published, not the one we have put in the appendix. We see that the geography of Gayā, which is explained by following the limbs of the *śilā*, is already well established, but no legend comes as yet to explain this division of the holy place into *śilā*'s feet and hands In the legend existed, it was surely completely independent from the *asura* Gaya's, otherwise Vācaspati would have alluded to it, but he does not Or at that time, as for Viṣnupada, the legend of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* was not yet sufficiently established as to be given as traditional We see then the great importance of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* It is the first dated work giving the *Gayāmāhatmya* of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, which probably was not yet very ancient, as one could venture to correct it with another *purāṇa* on a point which at present is so important, namely the primacy of the Viṣnupada It is also the first work which presents an almost modern Gayā, the changes intervening later will be only about details

Tīrthasāra of the Nṛsimhaprasāda—Some years after the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, a certain Dalapati Rāja (name or title ?) wrote the *Nṛsimhaprasāda*, comprehensive encyclopedia on *Dharmaśāstra* a part of it is devoted, as is normal, to *tīrtha*s the *Tīrthasāra*[148] As the book was written in the Deccan, it deals with *tīrtha*-s both of the south and of the north, and that is its great peculiar characteristic Gayā is described rather at length One realizes, however, that the author had no personal knowledge of the places,but only a knowledge acquired from books He introduces, however, some innovations in the quotations Unfortunately, the manuscript edited by Sūrya Nārāyana Śukla must have been not very correct, as a mistake, particularly, is noted which cannot easily be ascribed to the author Two passages are quoted, one as belonging to *Śiva-purāṇa*[149], the other one to the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* On examination they appear to be chapter 7 of the *Varāha-purāṇa* but very badly mutilated It is unthinkable that this mistake comes from the author, it must come from an inversion of pages in a manuscript Several works are quoted for the first time particularly the *Kalikāpurāṇa*, the *Saura-*

148 cf P. V Kane, *Hist of Dharm*, I, pp 406-410, the *Tīrthasāra* was published at Benares in the *Sarasvatī Bhavan Texts*, No 62, in 1936

149. The manuscript has, in fact, 'māvarāne' which the editor interprets as *śivapurāne*

purāṇa and the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, as well as the *Vāhni-purāṇa* As for the last one, Hazra has shown[150] that it was a work completely different from the *Agni-purāṇa* whose *Gayāmāhatmya*, however is not yet appeared in the texts At the end of the chapter dealing with Gayā, the *Tīrthasāra* quotes two passages from the *Mahābhārat* which could not be traced They have an astonishingly modern character and possibly they do not belong to the great epic

As far as Gayā is concerned, therefore, the *Tīrthasāra* shows through the length devoted to this holy place, that its reputation was great. It nevertheless brings us nothing new, except a certain number of false quotations

Tīrthalīsetu[151]—Nārāyana Bhatta, author of the *Tīrthalīsetu* among other works, belonged to a very famous family of Benares, he wrote his works between 1540 and 1570[152] The fact that he wrote a book on the three great pilgrimages usually associated together, namely Banaras, Prayāga and Gayā, along with the fact that he was living in one of these places and in the region of the other two, vouch for the correctness of what he describes In his book is found one of the longest descriptions of Gayā and its pilgrimage He adds some quotations to those of his predecessors, but he also comments more extensively Although he quotes, as the others, the chapter of the *Garuda-purāṇa* giving the legend of the *asura* Gaya, he narrates also the legend of the same *asura* according to the *Vāyu* and *Agni-purāṇa-s* by making short quotations and summarizing the rest It is the first time that this legend appears in a dated text, it is also the first time that we come across the *Gayā māhātmya* of the *Agni-purāṇa* As for the way itself of the pilgrimage, there are some modifications It is specified for instance, that one should perform a *śrāddha* at the Mahābodhi tree, relying for this upon the authority of the *Agni-purāṇa* In the text itself of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* appears the *mantra* to be recited on that very spot The Viṣṇupada is put first as in the *Tīrthacintāmani*, but the *Garuda-purāṇa* is quoted to this effect that one has to start from the Rudra-pada. The evolution, however, follows its own course, so this half *śloka* of the *Agni-purāṇa* is again added

kramato'kramato vāpi gayāyātrā mahāphalā

150 *Purānic records . .*, pp 139-140

151 Edited by G S Gokhale, ASS, No 78, Poona, 1915

152 cf Kane, *Hist of Dharm* I, pp. 419-421

This leaves, therefore the pilgrim completely free We are not very far now from Viṣṇupada being granted absolute supremacy We also see that the *pada-s* have multiplied, Nārāyana Bhatta, in fact, not satisfied with giving the list of the *Vāyu-purāna*, adds that of the *Agni-purāna*

The Tirtha-prakāśa and the later compilations —

The *Tīrtha-prakāśa*[153], a part of Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, is the last among the big compilations dealing with Gayā This work dates back to the beginning of the XVIII century and repeats, but without copying it, what the previous authors have said The innovation is expected, it is the final consecration of the Viṣṇupada After repeating what his predecessors have said, Mitra Miśra adds

vastuto vāyupurāṇarītyā karaṇe gārudakramo na grāhyaḥ[154]

The pilgrimage of Gayā starts here also with what was the Pretaśilā which is now the Rāmaśilā and the surrounding *vedī-s* whereas nowadays it starts with the Pretapūrvata the rites at Rāmaśilā are performed only on the next day

The last works in Sanskrit we could consult are Bhattoji Dīkṣita's *Tīrthalīsetu* and Nāgeśa Bhatta's *Tīrthenduśekhara*[155] They are short and late treatises—respectively *circa* 1625 and *circa* 1700—which do not add anything new to our study, first because of their conciseness and also because the pilgrimage of Gayā as it is described by the *Tirthaprakāśa* has an almost modern aspect

So we see the first-rate interest offered by these medieval compilations which are too often neglected Thanks to them we can follow the evolution of the pilgrimage of Gayā, whose aspect at the beginning of the 12th century was completely similar to what the Mahābhārata says, and which has changed little by little until it assumed its present form They have helped us also in dating approximately a certain number of chapters of the *purāna-s* We do not obviously claim to have given an exhaustive list of all the references of these texts to Gayā this would have been impossible and most probably it would have not offered great interest

153 Edited by Pandit Viṣnu Prasād, *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, Nos 239 to 242, 247 and 248, Benares, 1917

154 p 419

155 Published together in one volume in *Sarasvati Bhavana Texts*, Nos 65-67, Benares, 1936

GAYĀ AND THE SAMHITĀ-S

Barua[156] quotes a good number of excerpts from the *samhitā-s* where Gayā is often mentioned The Viṣṇupada is quoted only once, but it is in the part in prose of the *Viṣṇu-samhitā*, which is considered one of the most ancient The quotation of Barua is as following[157] 'atha Puskaresvaksayaśrāddham, evam eva Gayāśirse, Aksayavate, Viṣṇupade, Phalgutīrthe '

In fact if we refer to the text, the situation is sensibly different[158] Barua has forgotten to put the points of suspension where he should have put them In the edition we use, we see that *Gayāśīrse* and *Aksayavate* are in lines 5 and 6, *Phalgutīrthe* in line 9 and *Viṣnupade* only in line 16 ! In this chapter we have then a list of *tīrtha-s* among which Barua has chosen what he wanted Moreover, it is not apparent why he has not put in his list *prabhāse* (line 10), *agastyāśrame* (line 14), *uttaramānase* (line 15), *matangavāpyām* (line 16), which are *tīrtha-s* also available at Gayā as well as those given by him In this way it is clear that we can by no means rely upon this passage of the *Viṣnu-samhitā* for any proof whatsoever regarding Gayā and the Viṣnupada The only thing which can be deduced is that a Viṣnupada existed in India, in the time when this text was written, nothing shows that it was situated at Gaya.

VEDA AND NIRUKTA

Now that things have been a little clarified chronologically we would like to study two small but particularly troublesome problems They concern some references to a Gayā available in the *Veda-s* and a reference, which seems to be correct, to our centre of pilgrimage

The name of Gaya in fact is not unknown to the *Rg-veda*. Gaya, Plātṛ's son, is indeed the author of two hymns[159] His name is also found in the *Atharva-veda* (I 14 4), where is introduced

156 *op cit*, pp 65 to 69

157 p 65, note 1

158 We have used the *Dharmaśāstrasamgraha*, edited by Jivananda Vidyāsāgara Bhattācārya, Calcutta, 1876 The passage that interests here is at p 160

159. *R* I X 63. 17 and X. 64. 17.

an 'incantation' (Brahman)[160] of Asita, Kasyapa and Gaya It is perhaps going quite far to deduce, as Kane does, that Gaya was a 'wonder-worker or a sorcerer' In any case we cannot follow him when he says . 'It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer, Gaya, could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on'[161] We have seen that the *asura* Gaya appeared very late in time and that he does not derive from king Gaya, who besides is Amūrtarajas's son, not Plati's Gaya was a current name It it possible that the existence of a *rsi* Gaya could have some influence in the working out of legends connected with the town of Gayā, but it has not been at all proved That does not imply in any case that Gayā existed at the time when the mentioned *rsi* is supposed to have lived. Let us then take note of the existence of this *rsi*, but let us not draw any conclusion referring to the history of the pilgrimage of Gayā No doubt the most ancient reference to what could be the holy place is available in Yāska's *Nirukta* (12 19) Commenting on the famous verse of *Rg-Veda* I 22 17

idam Visnur vicakrame tredhā nidadhe padam

Yāska writes '. tridhā nidhatte padam/prthivyām antarikse divīti sākapūrnah/ samārohane visnupade gayasirasīty aurnavābhah//

In the last words one recognizes two of the most famous *vedī*-s of the present Gaya the Visnupada and the Gayāsiras *Samārohana* is glossed generally as *udayagiri*[162] , now at Gayā exists indeed an *udyantaparvata*, we can suppose then, that it is here a question of an allusion to the holy place However, a certain number of considerations make us think that it is a question of a purely accidental coincidence

Let us note first of all that none of the numerous commentators and, more recently, the publishers of *Nirukta*, has thought of the town of Gayā All follow Durgācārya's commentary, who glosses the three words in the following way

Samārohane —udayagirāv udyan padam ekam nidhatte/ visnupade madhyamdine'ntarikse/ 'viyad visnupadam vā tu purnyākā-

160 *Atharvaveda samhitā*, trans. by W D Whitney, T I , p 16

161 *Hist of Dharm* , IV p 645

162 There are some difficulties in understanding *samārohana* as a name of place Renou has made us notice that it is completely unusual that a name of action with such a clear suffix is used as a name of place.

śāvihāyasī' ity amarah/ Gayaśirasy astagirau ity aurnavābha ācāryo manyate[163]. So we see that these Viṣnu's steps have been understood as the course of the sun through the sky This is not the place to discuss whether it is right to consider Viṣnu as a solar form we take note that this does not pose any problem to the commentators But we are of course obliged to see that it is an interpretation and not a translation and that this interpretation serves only to conceal the commentator's embarrassment We can surely think that *samārohaṇa* translates the rising of the sun and *viṣnupada*, understood as abode of Viṣnu, indicates the position of the sun at zenith, but how can we understand *gayāśiras* as 'the mountain of the West'? It is, however, in this way that L Sarup translates in his edition of the *Nirukta*

On the other hand, the historians of Gayā draw this commentary on their line and see in it a first description of the pilgrimage place But *samāroḥaṇa* cannot be the name of a place Moreover, as far as the dated texts are concerned, as we have seen, there is no mention of *Viṣnupada* at Gayā before the Tīrthacintāmaṇi by Vācaspati Miśra, i e in the second half of the 15th century A D Neither the *Tīrthaviveckanakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* nor the *Smṛticandrikā* make the slightest allusion to it exactly like the *Mahābhārata*[164] Under these conditions, we are really compelled to think that, if here a real place is referred to—which is not certain—this place was not in the territory of Gayā As for *Gayāśiras*, it is in fact known since the *Mahābhārata*, but is it reasonable to consider it as the mountain of the setting sun—as by the fact that Gayā is in question we are not prevented from thinking that it can refer to solar Viṣnu—this hill which is in eastern India and which is hardly distinguishable from so many similar hills surrounding it?

It remains true, however, that the union of these three terms in the same sentence is extremely disturbing Barua[165] admits

163 Yāska Muni, *The Nirukta* . with the *Niruktavivṛti* commentary and exhaustive notes of Muhund Jhā Bakshi Critically ed by M J B Bombay, 1930, p 506.

164. See above the answer to P V Kane

165 *op cit*, pp 10 and 41.

that the *Viṣnupada* must be the zenith But, regarding Gayāśiras, he writes 'Consistently with vedic mythology, one can say that Gayāśira, the 'Gaya's head' is the same term as Gayāsurasiras, the head of the demon Gaya' It is here, then, in the Vedic legend of the demon Gaya and in the Vedic allegory of Viṣnu's three strides and Aurnavābha's interpretation thereof that we can happily trace the nucleus of the magnified legend of the Gayāsura in the *Vāyu* and the *Agni purāṇas*' A little before, Barua had confused the demons Namuci and Vitra with Gaya, but Gaya, in vedic literature, is a *ṛṣi*, and he is never considered a demon Finally, the three strides of Viṣnu are never mentioned in the *Gayāmāhātmya*

J C Ghose[166], in an article on the antiquities of Gayā, partly depends upon this passage of *Nirukta* First of all he thinks he can identify the *Sāvitra pada* of the *Mahābhārata* (III 82 81) with the *Viṣnupada*, considering Savitr and Viṣnu as the Sun In a previous article[167] he had shown that the *Viṣnupada* was situated at the borders of Gurdaspur and Kangra districts, on a hill at the foot of which flowed the Vipāśā Moreover, not seeing in *Gayāśira* other than *gaya*, he interpretes it as the equivalent of *gṛha* 'abode' and thinks that the Gayasiras was the Sun's abode, from which it went out in the morning to make its course and into which it entered in the evening once it had accomplished its work And as he discovers another *Viṣnupada* on mount Niṣadha, thanks to two references of the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya purāṇa*-s, he concludes immediately that the Gayāśiras of Gayā is the Sun's point of departure (samārohaṇa), that the Viṣnupada is on the hill we have seen, and that the Gayāśiras is a mountain of the Hindukush It is useless to point out that chronology does not enter in the least Ghose's interests cleverness is good for everything

What we can deduce in any case from these different views is that in India there were numerous *Viṣnupada*-s We have seen above that the simplest way of interpreting the name *gayāśiras* was to follow what Buddhaghosa says and to translate it as the 'Elephant's head' Consequently nothing compels us to link this vague *Nirukta*'s passage with the history of Gayā The antiquity of

166 *Antiquity of Gayā*, in *J B O R S*, vol XXIV, part 3, Sept 1938

167 *Viṣnupādagiri*, in *Indian Culture*, vol I, No 3, Jan 1935

Gayā is largely proved by the hints given by the pāli canon. It is not necessary, therefore, to venture into the *Nirukta* from which nothing can be concluded under the circumstances without a good deal of imagination.

OTHER INDICATIONS

We have put under this heading certain number of references that we could find both in literature and in inscriptions. Such pieces of information are partly sure and dated.

Ānandagiri, author of the *Śaṅkara-vijaya*[168], describes the passage through Gayā of Śaṅkara in the following words: Gayāyāṃ pitṛpiṇḍadānam kṛtvā.

Much more interesting are the references of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Kalhaṇa. Gayā is mentioned twice, during the reigns respectively of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101):

Kāśmīrikāṇāṃ yaḥ śrāddhaśulkocchettā gayāntare /
so'py uparāmantakaḥ sūnuḥ parihāsapurāśrayaḥ //
baddhvā mahāśulāṃ kaṇṭhe vitastāmbhasi pātitaḥ /
svadurnayaphalaṃ devyāḥ prakopenānubhāvitaḥ // VI 254, 255

Hatvā gayāyāṃ sāmantam ekam anyam niveśya ca /
kāśmīrikāṇāṃ cakre sa śrāddhaśulkanivāraṇam // VII 1008

In both cases then it is a question of somebody who has relieved the Kaśmīris from the taxes they had to pay for going on a pilgrimage to Gayā. Under the circumstances it is not a question of the fees to the Gayavāls, but of a tax levied on the pilgrims by the local government. Such a tax was still in existence during the 14th century and has to be paid even nowadays in some centres of pilgrimage, like Tirupati. We are sure that our Gayā is mentioned here, since in the second quotation, the hero, Kandarpa, according to the previous *śloka* was at Varāṇasī and he had returned there according to the *śloka* 1010. We have then the certainty that in the middle of the 10th century, the pilgrimage was very important, as it could attract pilgrims from as far as Kaśmīra and in numbers sufficient to justify an order which relieved them from the tax.

Very important is also the visit to Gayā by Caitanya. It is known that it is in this place of pilgrimage that he met with his

168 *Śaṅkara-vijaya* of Ānanda Giri, Bibliotheka Indica, Calcutta, 1868, p. 235.

guru and was converted We can remark that it is from this period that the Viṣṇupada cult began to have real importance as the compilations we have studied above seem to prove It is very probable that a relation of cause and effect exists between the journey, the importance of Caitanya and Viṣṇupada's ascent to its apogee

We note at last this passage from the Ayīn-i-Akbarī[169] about Gayā, 'Geya, the place of Hindoo worship, is the sircar (of Behar), they call it Birhm Geya, being consecrated to Brahma '

Buchanam-Hamilton had already pointed out numerous inscriptions at Gayā and he got translated a certain number of them He had also said that the inscriptions were not generally in their original place, as stones of ancient monuments had been used for building new monuments A certain number of the discovered inscriptions are Buddhist, they hardly interest us here Moreover, very few among those which remain give reference to exact spots of Gayā. We see then that the epigraphic sources are meagre, even if they are not worthless

In an article on Bodh Gayā[170], Th Block has published an inscription available on a stone at present at the Indian Museum of Calcutta On this stone are carved the three gods Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu It is interesting to note that the central figure, Śiva, has a stick, it is therefore a Paśupati The inscription has 9 lines, it reminds us that in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, a *linga caturmukha* was erected in the pleasant residence of the Lord of Dharma for the benefit of the descendants of *snātaka-s* who lived at Mahābodhi At the same time a very deep pond was excavated, similar to the Viṣṇupadi at the cost of 3000 drammas This inscription gives us a certain number of interesting pieces of information Let us first note that the date given by Th Block, A D 850 to A D 950, has to be slightly shifted back In fact, the chronology proposed by Cunningham in *A S I*, vol III, p 34, is roughly followed at present, this would give approximately 815 as a date for this

169 *Ayeen Akbery*, or Akbar's regulations . . transl from the original Persian . . by F Gladwin, Calcutta, 1897, p. 398

170 Th Bloch, *Notes on Bodh-Gayā*, III, *Brahmanical worship at Bodh-Gayā*, in *A. S I*, *Annual Report*, 1908-1909, pp. 148 ff

inscription We have to notice on the other hand a great mistake He translates *'pushaviṁ . . viṣṇupadīsamā'* as 'a . . tank . , similar to the impression of Viṣṇu's foot (at Gaya, *Viṣṇupadīsamā*, l 5)' Viṣṇupadi is one of the synonyms of Gangā, it is evidently a pond equivalent to the Ganga This fact then does not avouch in any way for the existence of the Viṣṇupada at Gayā in the 9th century But it is interesting to know that in 815 there were *sṇātaka-s* at Mahābodhi (i e Bodh-Gayā), who seem to have lived happily together with the Buddhists, and that these *sṇātaka-s* were *Pāśupata-Dharmeśa* represents probably the Buddha, this stele was perhaps in one of his temples We have not to wonder, however, over this good reciprocal understanding, Hiuan-tsang had already mentioned it

Another interesting inscription has been published by Kielhorn in *Indian Antiquary*[171] It is not dated, but Kielhorn makes us note that the writing is a kind of *devanāgarī* which seems to have been current in the 12th century A D In fact this inscription is of Yaksapāla who seems to have reigned about 1070-1080[172] We note by the way that Kane[173] makes a slip while attributing this inscription to Nayapāla's reign (*circa* 1040), after reading too quickly Barua's book The momentous passage of the inscription is the following

> maunādityasahasralingakamalārdhāngīnanārāyanadvi (sto)-
> mesvaraphalgunāthavijayādityāhavayānām kṛtī/ sa prāsādam
> acikarad divisadām kedāradevasya ca khyātasyottaramānasasya
> khananam sattram ta(thā) cāksaye// 12

The exact translation of this verse, as well as its interpretation seems to be just that of Kane, who corrects those of Barua and of Kielhorn However, he also translates *sattra* as 'hall of charity' But in this case we have trouble in translating *akṣaya* which can apply only to *sattram* It is much simpler to translate *sattram* as 'ritual session', which could surely have taken place on the platform of the Akṣayavata The *Kṛtyakalpataru* quoting the *Vāyu-purāna* already speaks of the Uttaramānasa Had it come into existence

171 *Indian Antiquary*, I XVI, p 63 ff
172 *A Hist of Bihar through the Ages*, p 320
173 *Hist of Dharm.*, IV, 650-651

in 1070, this would have been hardly possible We have, as well, to adopt Kane's idea that the pond already existed and that Yaksapāla had it only dug once more and rearranged The names of the deities to whom a temple should be dedicated show the great variety of gods available at Gayā

Equally interesting is the inscription of which Cunningham gives the translation and copy in A S I [174] It is dated Samvat 1516, i e 1459 A D First of all are mentioned the footprints of Kisna, Śiva, Ādigadādhara, Phalgvīsvara and of Candikā, as well as of Vradhna (which is probably a wrong reading for Brahman), of Indra and Vahni, who live on the Dharmaśilā In verse 16 we are informed that a certain Chaudhari Sūryadāsa has done a pilgrimage with his family to Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā and that near Gadādhara he had given 1000 cows to the brāhmana-s and 'made Gayā free for three years' Cunningham makes us note that this expression is rather obscure According to him it must allude to the taxes which the pilgrims had to pay, and about which we have already heard in the *Rājatarangiṇī* [175]

We note also an inscription, among many others, found at Jabalpur [176] Its verse 33 says

> prabhāsagokarnagayādītīrthesv āmnyam āpadya surādvarye/
> sarvam vratam kīrtisivād babhāra samagram ugrād upamanyuvad yah //

At last we point out as a reminder the great inscription found at Bodh-Gayā and published in *Asiatic Researches* [177] The information it gives would be perhaps interesting if it had the least chance of authenticity, but it has been for long recognized that it was a forgery It carries the mark of the period which produced it We read in fact 'Once upon a time the illustrious Amara, renowned amongst men, coming here, discovered the place of the supreme Being, Bood-dha, in the great forest' In Vikramāditya 1005, i e 949, Bodh-Gayā had not to be discovered as place of the

174 *A. S I* vol III, p 129, plate XXXVII

175 See above

176. *C. I I*, vol IV, part I, pp 331-340

177 *Asiatic Researches*, vol I, 1806 (1st ed , Translation of a Sanskrit inscription copie at Boodha Gaya by Wilmot, 1785, trans' Wilkins, Esq

Buddha, because Buddhism was still flourishing It was not the same in 1785, Bodh-Gayā then was only a ruin and the name of Buddha was there almost completely forgotten

On the whole, we see that we cannot get out much from epigraphic sources The future perhaps will make us discover other inscriptions A good deal of luck will be needed so that these inscriptions may be interesting for our history of the pilgrimage

Before examining European reports on the Gayā pilgrimage, it is as well to summarize what we could see till now about the history of the holy place We could not discover any thing referring to Gaya before the Buddha but its evidence as an important pilgrimage in his time warrants that it existed already before At the moment we see it for the first time in history, it is essentially a *tīrtha*, i e a bathing place Besides, there were perhaps certain sacred points, but we cannot affirm it The *Mahābhārata* shows us the pilgrimage centre quite widened and gives us a list of already important holy spots The origins of Gayā remain, however, unknown The sacrifices are performed there on a particularly pure ground It is just for this reason probably that the territory of Gayā has been chosen by the king Gaya for his great sacrifice During the 4th century A D Gayā disappeared from the map of pilgrimages. Fa-hien sees only ruins The city, however, rises again from its own ashes The pilgrimage seems to be quite alive when Hiuan-tsang passes near the town in the middle of the 7th century Its importance becomes again great, as the *Rājataarngiṇī* warrants that it was resorted to from regions as distant as Kashmir in the 10th and 11th centuries Nevertheless, the pilgrimage remained as it was at the time when the *Mahābhārata* was written, as Lakṣmīdhara uses the epic to describe its spots Only pools consecrated to Śiva seem to have been dug in addition. The *Smṛtcandrikā* explains how to do the pilgrimage in five days and shows the presence of new sacred spots

What was the great god of Gayā at this time? It is very difficult to say, but it is proved in any case that Viṣṇu is completely absent, if we considered that the mention of Gadādhara in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*[178] has been added later Yama-Dharma was honoured in sacred spots which were, as it seems, on the outskirts of Gayā and in Gayā itself Brahman had also a great importance

178 *Supra*, p 166, cf. above, p 45 ff

but he must have been already ousted partly by Śiva In fact, the references to Pitāmaha are not very clear, even today it is never sure whether Brahman or Śiva enters into the picture. What is certain is that Pitāmaha as well as Prapitāmaha is represented under the form of *linga*. The cult of Śiva surely became the most important very early, it is possible that this god was adored under the form of Paśupati. We have already pointed out[179] the stele described by Th Block recalling the establishment of a *linga caturmukha* at Bodh-Gayā. On the other hand, the list of the Brāhmana-s who had helped Brahman in his great sacrifice on the body of the *asura* Gaya as it is found in the *Vāyu-purāna*[180] reminds us quite closely of the incarnations of Śiva as they are described, for instance, by the Visuddhamuni in his *Ātmasamarpana* Many of these names are found also in the description of the *avatāra-s* of Śiva available in the *Vāyu-purāna* At last, we wonder to see the *Gayāmāhātmya* having such an outright vaisnavite character attached to the *Vāyu-purāna*, which gives the theories of the Pāsupata school None of these arguments is final, we know it, but at the same time they can corroborate a hypothesis probably never verifiable

In the 12th century, the legend of the *asura* already existed, no doubt, but it had not yet been accepted by the priests Let's note that at Pithapuram, a small town of Andhra Pradesh, the feet of the *asura* Gaya are honoured, and the legend tells us that Gaya was killed by Śiva[181] This legend may go back to a period when Gayā was a saivite centre If our hypothesis is correct, it might have been for an indirect influence of the Pasupati, holder of a staff, that Visnu as Gadādhara was introduced, when Gayā, or better, its priest, became vaisnavite

Between the *Smrticandrikā* and the *Tīrthacintāmani*, Gayā became vaisnavite, this is a fact, but we do not know in what manner this took place One thing, however, should be kept in mind the Gayāvāl-s, the most important and powerful caste of brāhmana *purohita-s* of Gayā, refer themselves to Mādhva and claim to have

179 cf above, p 59

180 cf p. 21 of our edition, where the list of the *avatāra-s* of Śiva is given

181 cf *Madras district Gazetteers, Statistical appendix with a supplement to the district gazetteer* (1907) *for Godavari district*, by K. N Krishnaswami Ayyar, Madras, 1935, p 389.

come from the south[182] An anthropological study would tell us perhaps something about their origin But it is interesting to think that it is after a Mādhva reform that Gayā became what it actually is In fact, in the *Gayāmāhātmya* there are certain things which are in compliance with Mādhvācārya's thought Such is for instance the following explanation of the host of temples of Mahādeva at Gayā

kalau māhesvarā lokā yena tasmād gadādharah
lingarūpo' bhavat tam ca vande srīprapitāmaham[183]

The *linga* representing Prapitāmaha, then, can be adored because everything is Visnu, the form of *linga* is only a concession to the Mahesvara-s of the *kali* age The *brahmaloka* as a supreme reward, so frequently found in the *Gayāmāhātmya,* can also be considered as a result of the Mādhva influence

Following the *Tīrthacintāmani,* it is in this light that we have to see Gayā The legends refer to Visnu, supreme God, but the sacred spots remain what they were previously, i e under the names of different gods and very rarely of Visnu The Visnupada makes a timid appearance There is a five-day *tīrtha-yātrā* to which two days are added at the beginning during which are performed rites at the Pretasīlā, the Pretaparvata and the Brahmakunda These names appear there for the first time, we remember that we could recognize in the Brahmakunda the fountain signalled by Hiuan-tsang at 30 *li* north of Gayā It is possible that these places were inserted into the Gayā pilgrimage only very late Still at present they are the property of the Dhāmins, who form a special caste much despised by the Gayāvāl-s and moreover much poorer Their role, however, is not negligible, their rites have the purpose of transforming into *pitr-s* all the ancestors who can still be *preta-s* Only after that, the *śrāddha-s* later on performed at Gayā are fully efficacious This is so true that if a pilgrim comes two or several times to Gaya, he is advised to go the first time to the Pretaparvata and to the places which belong to the Dhamin-s, but he is excused from this part of the pilgrimage when he returns to Gayā afterwards The last important date for Gayā was undoubtedly the coming of Caitanya It is in fact from this time, it seems, that the Visnupada was considered as the most sacred place of the pilgrimage centre,

182 cf L S S O'Malley, *Gayā Crāddha and Gayāvāls,* in J A S B, 1903

183 *Gayāmāhatmya,* VII 96.

ing with the *tīrtha* of the Phalgu The *Tīrtha-prakāśa* is the last ork in Sanskrit presenting a complete description of the holy city, simply comments and specifies what can be read in the *Gayā hātmya* of the *Vāyu-purāna* The later modifications the pilgrimage derwent will be noted while following the Europeans' reports

Before examining these reports, we would like to quote this *ka* which enters so often into the picture when it is a question of ya's antiquity

Ayodhyā mathurā māyā kāśī kāñcī avantikā/
purī dvārāvatī caiva saptaitā moks idāyikāh//

his *śloka*, which is generally dated 8th century A D has been used prove that the importance of Gayā has been for a long time ictly local[183]. Whatever we have seen till now serves to in- idate this thesis It is certain that the *argumentum a silentio* can- ot be validly maintained here In effect, as D C Sircar[185] ys 'It is certainly impossible to believe that Prabhāsa, Puskara id Prayāga, which are not mentioned in the verse, attained all- idia importance after the seventh century.' On the other hand, is good to remember that one never does only the Gayā pilgri- age, but the pilgrimage to Kāsi, Prayāga and Gayā. We have en above[186] two works devoted to these towns designated with ie name *Tristhalī* We can think that when one town is men- oned, the other two are by this very fact also implied It is possi- le, however, that during the 8th century Gayā had not yet reco- ered its importance of yesteryear. But it cannot be concluded om all this that Gayā had never had importance in the previous enturies.

THE EVOLUTION OF GAYĀ FROM XVIII CENTURY TO PRESENT TIMES

The first European document on Gayā is the report Buchanan-Hamilton made on behalf of the East Indian Company in 1811-13 It is a document of the greatest importance, too little used, which

184 This is Hara Prasad Śāstri's opinion, given in *Bengal District Gazetteer, Gayā*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, Calcutta, 1906, reproduced very often This hypothesis is adversed in the article *Gayā* in *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* by D C. Sircar, Delhi, 1960, which we shall partly follow.

185 *op cit*, p. 225

186. *Tristhalīsetu* of Nārāyana Bhatta, p. 41 and *Tristhalīsetu* of Bhattojī Diksita, p. 42

has been only recently published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society[187]. Sixty years later Monier-Williams went to the holy city and published an article in *Indian Antiquary*[188], which adds little to what Buchanan-Hamilton had said. Then we have the District Gazetteer of Gayā published in 1906, which has been recently continued by the Government of Bihar[189]. We shall add finally some remarks we could do on the spots at the time of a visit to Gayā in 1959.

Before studying these documents, we shall point out that Father Dubois devoted a chapter of one of his works to tell the story of the Asura Gaya as he found it in an old manuscript written in Kannara language[190]. It is a completely aberrant legend where the 'giant' Gaya frightens all the gods, including 'Krishna who tells him 'I come, mister giant, to ask the favour of your powerful protection.' He indeed was afraid of the *asura* and he did not feel safe in Vaikuntha. He imposes his conditions on Visnu by saying that he wants Gayā to become a pilgrimage place where people come for releasing their ancestors from the torments of Naraka. The *asura* then says 'Visnu, you have come here holding in your hand your arm *tchacara*, you will bear for ever the name of *Goda-dary*, or bestower of the goods.' *Godadary* is here evidently a corruption of *Gadādhara*. Visnu, moreover, is so called because he hold not the *cakra* but the *gadā*, or club. There are very few conclusions to be drawn from Father Dubois's legend, which he puts at the top of his article and which shows what people thought at the beginning of the 18th century in the area of Mysore: 'The temple of Gayā, situated in the province of Behar, on the bank of the river Mahā-Nady, is doubtlessly the most famous of all the rivers of India. It is resorted to by a huge crowd from every province.'

187. *An Account of the districts of Bihar and Patna in* 1811-181 by Francis Buchanan, n d, Montgomery Martin ha largely utilized Buchanan's manuscripts to write his boo *The history, antiquities, topography and statistics of East India*, London, 1838.

188. Śrāddha ceremonies at Gayā, *I A*, Tome V, 1876, p 200 ff.

189. *Bihar District Gazetteers, Gayā* by P C. Roy Choudhu Patna, 1957.

190. J A. Dubois, *Exposé de quelques uns des principaux articl de la theogonie des Brahmes . .* Paris, 1825, pp. 106 ff.

Buchanan [illegible] of the [illegible] the Sun [illegible] of pre-eminence [illegible] of the pilgrimage centre. He [illegible] with many details. He [illegible] for help in [illegible] in our edition and not with the one [illegible] the *Gayamahatmya* of the *Vayu-purana*. The number of 45 sanctuaries is rather recent and can be explained with the information given by Buchanan: "Old Gaya has been often attacked and sometimes plundered. The sanctity of the place would have been no security against Mahratta rapacity and when the country beyond the district, the priests boldly formed themselves into a company to each of which was intrusted the defence of an entrance into the town. Except at these entrances, the houses and a low wall formed a continued barrier, and the projecting angles and small windows of the houses formed a strong defence, so that the Mahrattas were on all occasions repulsed. Many zemindar Brahmans and other war-like persons returning to the town with their families and effects, gave a great addition to the power of the priests. These big houses and the doors of the old town are still visible in a southern rampart of the town"[192]. There is no doubt, we think, there we have the origin of the 11 Brahmanas ancestors of 14 families of Gayawals.

Another interesting piece of information of our author is the one relating to the taxes to be paid by pilgrims in order to be allowed to do their pilgrimage. Before Law, who was the tax-collector at Gaya when Buchanan went, the pilgrims arriving at Gaya were escorted by several small officers or by certain land-owners, who had established by their own accord a sort of toll. Law put order in all that and established a tax which varied according to the importance of the places visited by the pilgrims[193][194]. Thus four class of pilgrimages were fixed: the first two allowed to the pilgrims only the visit of the Phalgutirtha for the first class, and of the Phalgutirtha and the temple of Vishnupada for the second. The fourth class allowed to resort to 45 holy

191. *op. cit.*, p. 98
192. *op. cit.*, p. 80
193. cf. plate XVII, Nos 1 and 2
194. This tax has been abolished, we have been assured, some time before Independence.

places, i e to do the complete pilgrimage[195] As for the third class, it allowed the visit of 38 holy places If compared with the fourth one, in the third are missing the places belonging to the Dhāmin-s (Pretaśilā and Rāmaśilā) and the *Viṣnupada* as well as other less important places It is extremely surprising to see that even at the beginning of the 20th century, certain pilgrims could omit the Viṣnupada It is possible that there were still, at that time, certain *purohita-s* who followed the *Gayā-māhātmya* of the *Garuda-purāna* and who, therefore, did not recognize the Viṣnupada This is in any case the only explanation we could find for the suppression of the spot which had already been considered for long time as the most holy place of Gayā

Monier-Williams gives a list of 50 *vedī-s*, to which he adds again other sacred spots But this list can be perhaps easily divided into two parts the first including 45 *vedī-s* and ending at the Akṣayavata This first part is slightly different from the longer list given by Buchanan It seems that here the informant of Monier Williams follows the *Gayāmāhātmya* very closely[196] He gives in particular five places for the Dhāmins—namely the Rāmaśilā, the Rāmakunda, the Kākabali, the Brahmakunda and the Pretaparvata, instead of only the two given by Buchanan The reports of these two authors will help us to specify certain things In effect we see that the Rāmakunda, which is at the foot of the Rāmaśilā, even if it existed at the time of Buchanan, seems not to have had any sacred character On the contrary, Monier-Williams signals it as a *vedī*, and such it is till nowadays This Rāmakunda then should not be mistaken for the Rāmahrada spoken of by the *Gayāmāhātmya* It seems, indeed, that the legendary spot of Rāma's feats is not this hill of Rāmaśilā, on which Buchanan and Monier-Williams agree to tell us it was called in a recent past Pretaśilā, but it is the hill of Rāma-Gayā, which is on Phalgu's right bank, facing the temple of Viṣnupada The Rāmahrada spoken of by the *Gayāmāhātmya* is therefore what nowadays is, and already since Buchanan's time was, called Sītākunda, which is a part of Phalgu's river-bed during the

195 We have described a pilgrimage to 48 *vedī-s*, as it is done nowadys Cf Appendix III

196 The same informant gave him a completely aberrant account of the legends, though he pretended to narrate the story of the *Gayāmāhātmya*

rainy season The praise of Rāma on the hill of Rāmaśilā is therefore recent The evolution continues, as we could see at the top of the hill a footprint of Rāma recently made on cement. In fact, it is not mentioned by Buchanan, who describes this hill very accurately, nor by the Gazetteers[197]. On the other hand, the Pretaśilā, big prominent rock 3 metres high approximately, which was the principal object of veneration at the time of Buchanan has been almost completely neglected in favour of marks made supposedly by Brahman on the rocky soil of the hill some metres from there It seems that the *dhāmin-s* claimed their fees from the pilgrims near this rock, following a rite similar to the one followed for the Gayāvāl-s, the pilgrim washes the feet of the priest, then this one ties the thumbs of his client with a small garland and he will untie them only after they have agreed on the amount of the fees This does not seem to be practised at present by the *dhāmin-s*

The other places at Gayā have sometimes been modernized but they have not been greatly changed Buchanan's report can be an excellent guide to the town and to the Gayā pilgrimage

As we have come to the end of this introduction, can we now try to solve an often discussed problem, namely the problem of the date of the *Gayāmāhātmya* ? We can in fact give the date of its first appearance in a dated compilation, that of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* around 1450. But the *Gayāmāhātmya* was not yet fixed at this time. Nothing seems to have been added or modified since the *Tīrthaprakāśa*, rather the interpretation of certain passages would have changed On the whole, the problem of the date of this text does not have much interest We could follow roughly the evolution of the Gayā pilgrimage since very remote times Gayā has preserved a little bit of each period through which it has passed At present

197. The Gazetteer of 1957 could have hinted at it naturally; but it has normally reproduced the pieces of information of the Gazetteer published in 1906, rarely it has improved it The description it gives of the *Pretaparvata* reproduces, for instance, the one appeared in the Gazetteer of 1906, which is completely aberrant.

there are some adaptations in Hindi of this *Māhātmya*, the last aspect of this work which never stopped changing along the centuries. From this point of view we can say that Gayā is a little image of India which is said to be always unchangeable and really referring to the most ancient traditions, but which one sees changing every day and which, like all the other countries, never stopped evolving



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व्यास-स्तुति।

व्यास पाराशर्यं वसोः पौत्रमकल्मषम्।
पराशरात्मजं वन्दे शुकतातं तपोनिधिम् ॥१

व्यासाय विष्णुरूपाय व्यासरूपाय विष्णवे।
नमो वै ब्रह्मनिधये वासिष्ठाय नमो नमः ॥२
(महाभा०, C. E., भीष्मपर्व, पृष्ठ 3, टि०)

पितृणां मानसी कन्या वागवी समपद्यत।
अदृश्यन्ती च पितृभिर्मत्स्ययोनौ बभूव सा ॥३

अणीव हृदयस्यास्य निमित्तं यस्य जन्मनः।
तस्या आसीन्महायोगी व्यासो वेदविदां वरः ॥४

तस्मै भगवते कृत्वा नमो व्यासाय वेधसे।
पुराणाय पुराणाय भृगुवाक्यप्रवर्तिने।
मानुषत्वप्रदानाय विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे ॥५
—(वायुपु०, ASS, 1. 40-42)

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम्।
को ह्यन्यः पुरुषक्षेत्रान्महाभारतकृद् भवेत् ॥६
—(पद्मपु०, 51.43)

व्यासस्वरूपवर्णनम्

तस्य कृष्णस्य कपिलां जटां दीप्ते च लोचने।
बभ्रूणि चैव श्मश्रूणि दृष्ट्वा देवी न्यमीलयत् ॥१
—(महाभा०, 1, 106-5)

वामे कमण्डलुं बिभ्रद् दक्षिणे दण्डमुत्तमम्।
पिङ्गलीभिर्जटाभिश्च राजितो महसां चयः ॥२
—(शिवपु०, उमासं०, 44-39)

TRANSLATION

1. Eulogy

I bow to sage Vyāsa, the great-grand-son of Vasiṣtha, the grandson of Śaktı, the son of Parāsara, and father of Śuka, the treasure of austerities.—(1)

Obeisance to Sage Vyāsa who is a form of Vişnu, to Vişnu who is a form of Vyāsa Obeisance to the descendant of Vasiṣtha, and to him (Vyāsa) who is the treasure of the Vedas.—(2)

The mind-born daughter of the Manes when cursed mentally by them, was born in the womb of a fish, and became Vāsavī (the daughter of king Vasu, later on named as Satyavatī) —(3)

She became source of birth of Vyāsa, like the sacrificial wood of sacrificial fire. From her womb was born the great *Yogin* Vyāsa, the best of the knowers of the Vedas —(4)

We pay obeisance to that illustrious Vyāsa, the arranger or the disposer, the Ancient Purusa, who has made the words of sage Bhrgu flow onwards, who (Vyāsa) is the all-powerful Lord Vişnu in the disguise of human form.—(5)

Know ye Sage Krsna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as Lord Vişnu, otherwise who else other than lotus-eyed Vişnu could compose the Mahābhārata (an impossible task for a human being) —(6)

2. Description of Vyāsa

Seeing the tawny locks of hair of Krsna (i. e Krsna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa) and the deep-brown beard and moustache, the queen closed her eyes.—(1)

He (Vyāsa) holding a water-jar (a vessel made of wood) in the left hand and a staff in his right hand and wearing brown locks of hair the heap of effulgence (or splendour) shone there (2)

A SHORT NOTE ON VYĀSA

(Vyāsa and Berossus)

Maharsi Veda-Vyāsa has been the most marvellous personality in the annals of the authorship. The great *Mahābhārata* and the Purāna-s are the monuments of his scholarship and learning. But scholars differ about his time and historicity European scholars generally regard him as a mythological person, and deny his historicity. A most ludicrous proposition about Vyāsa is by Shri Buddha Prakash who published an article about Vyāsa in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol XXXVII, 1951, pp 33-42 The article is entitled as 'Vyāsa A study in Indo-Babylonian Cultural Contact' In this article he has tried to show that Vyāsa was indebted for his origin, name and principal activities to Berossus, a Babylonian priest and historian of great fame and learning, who lived immediately after Alexander's conquest of Babylonia about 300 B C and wrote in Greek, for the new rulers, a comprehensive history of Babylonia by recording in it the earliest traditions about the local people and their religion and culture—(*Vide* Dr R C Hazra's article entitled 'Did Vyāsa owe his origin to Berossus ?' Published in *Purāna*, vol. II, 1960, pp 17ff.)

Dr Hazra has strongly refuted this novel view of Buddha Prakash in this article He quotes several citations from ancient works on Grammar (such as of Patañjali, Kātyāyana), Dharma-śāstra, Āranyaka etc which mention Vyāsa as 'Vyāsa Pārāsarya' The *Gopatha Brāhmana* whose date is not later than the sixth century B C also mentions Vyāsa (1 I 29). Thus the name of Vyāsa was known in India centuries before the birth of Berossus of Babylon.

—**Anand Swarup Gupta**

PURANIC STUDIES IN ITALY*

By

STEFANO PIANO—GIUSEPPE SPERA

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकद्वयेन इटलीदेशे सपन्नस्य पुराणानाम् अध्ययनस्य सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया दृष्ट्या साङ्गोपाङ्ग विवरण प्रस्तुतम् । खिष्टीयवर्षस्य विगते शतके भारतीयविद्याया अध्ययनम् इटलीदेशे प्रारब्धम् । तदारभ्य पुराणविषये यत्कार्यं सजात तस्य विवरणं विवेचनं च अत्र प्रस्तुतम् । यद्यपि संख्यादृष्ट्या एतदध्ययनं न्यून किं तु गुणदृष्ट्या पर्याप्तमस्ति । एतत् पौराणिकाध्ययनं कालक्रतानुसारेण त्रिषु भागेषु विभक्तम्—प्रारम्भककालः, नूतनदृष्टि, वर्तमानकालश्च । प्रथमकाले तेजा, गोरेंजियो, वेलत्रामी, टुची-प्रभृतयो विद्वासः सन्ति । द्वितीयवर्गे मल्लौरीमहाशयस्य पौराणिकाध्ययनस्य महत्त्वं वर्तते । अस्य निबन्धस्य एको लेखक स्तेफानो पिआनो महाशयोऽपि प्रसिद्धो विद्वान् येन माहात्म्यविषये विशिष्टमध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

Purāṇa-s constitute an important and wide part of Indian literature, according to Indian tradition, they are very old[1] and there is no doubt that many chapters of the *Purāṇa-s* as we can now read them in printed editions really contain old material, although they cannot be dated with some credible approximation.[2]

* In the present paper paragraphs 1 and 2.b) are due to G. Spera, and paragraphs 2 a) and 3 to S Piano

1. Cf. *Vāyu-purāṇa* (Venkateśvar ed , Bombay, 1933) I, 7, 183ab · यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनितीद पुराण तेन तत्स्मृतम्, see also *Matsya-purāṇa* (ed by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1876) 53, 69 अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे, and *Vāyu-purāṇa* I, 1,54 प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणा पुराण ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् । अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृता . The same sentence occurs, with no substantial variants, in *Matsya-purāṇa* 3, 3-4 and 53, 3, *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1894) V, 1, 45 and *Brahmānda-purāṇa* (Delhi, 1973) I, 1, 40-41.

2. It is still more difficult to date a whole *Purāṇa*. The problem has been widely discussed by scholars like R C. Hazra, but we can say that the compound character of these works—which are real encyclopaedic texts only apparently unitary—is the main reason of the substantial impossibility of dating them

The great importance of the 'fifth *Veda*'[3] attracted the attention of both oriental and western scholars, for it is a real mine of myths, legends, descriptions of cults and *vrata-s*, *stotra-s*, *māhātmya-s*, etc, and a great number of researches, analyses and comparative studies have been carried out on this subject[4] Moreover, many very important works on Indian culture and tradition are partly based on puranic evidences[5] the Indian religious way of life being always connected with puranic teachings, the knowledge of these texts is strictly necessary for every analysis of Indian thought and practice

In the broad panorama of Indological studies in Italy, which date back to the half of the eighteenth century, puranic studies do not hold a quantitatively prominent position, since Italian scholars —particularly in the past—mostly preferred to study and translate the *Veda-s*, the epics and classical Sanskrit literature as well as Buddhist Pāli literature[6] Nevertheless, Italian puranic studies are

3 *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* VII, 1, 4 and 7, 1

4. In the field of Indological studies, the lack of an exhaustive bibliography of puranic studies is to be pointed out We trust this paper will be a small contribution to that complete bibliography

5 See, for instance, the monumental work by P V KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 4 vols in 8 parts IInd ed., 1968-1977

6. Reliable evidences of this stylistic taste are the numerous versions of Indian epic works (see, for instance, M. KERBAKER's metrical translations of the *Mahābhārata*, 5 vols., Roma, 1933-39 and the anthologies published by I PIZZI, *Antologia epica*, Torino, 1878, P L PAVOLINI, *Crestomazia del Rāmāyana*, Firenze, 1895 and *Mahābhārata*, Milano, 1902, and V. PISANI, *Mahābharata*, Torino, 1954, besides the well-known monumental *editio princeps* with Italian translation of the *Valmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* by G GORRESIO, 12 vols, 1843-1870), the translations of classics like Kālidāsa's *kāvyas* (by C. FORMICHI, U. NORSA, G. FLECHIA, A M. PIZZAGALLI) and dramas (by A MARAZZI, U. NORSA, M. KERBAKER-V. PISANI, F. CIMMINO), of the *Bhagavad-gītā* (by O. NAZARI, M PIZZAGALLI, P. E. PAVOLINI, M. KERBAKER, I. VASSALINI and others), of Buddhist *suttas* (see, for instance, *Discorsi di Gotamo Buddho*, transl. by K E NEUMANN and G DE LORENZO, Bari 1916-1927) and of parts of the *Veda* (see, for instance, PAPESSO's translation of the *Ṛgveda*, 2 vols., Bologna 1929-31 and the *Atharvaveda*, Bologna, 1933).

qualitatively excellent and their development keeps up with the development of such studies in other countries Unfortunately, many Italian contributions are little known abroad · the purpose of the present paper is just to acquaint foreign scholars with the heritage of Italian researches in this field offering a brief summary of each published book or paper

1. The early period

The first Italian contribution in the field seems to be a brief, but very interesting and learned paper by E. Teza on *Viṣnu-purāṇa*[7] The A. referring to F Hall's reprint of the *Viṣnu-purāṇa* text in 1864-1868, observed that it was *already* printed since some years in *Telugu* together with two commentaries, the first being the *Ātmaprakāśa* by Śrīdhara, the second by Śrī Viṣnukitta As an example of the edition he showed few verses of the fourth book, XXIVth chapter, dealing with genealogies, and developped some comparisons with the Hall's editions, giving an interesting contribution to the history and tradition of the *Viṣnu-purāṇa* text In the light of new researches, this paper could be the starting point for a study dealing with the whole *Telugu* edition of this *Purāṇa*

Moreover, Teza worked on original texts his translations are made carefully and are precious examples of Italian literary style too. The legend firstly examined[8] was drawn from *Kālikā-purāṇa* I, vv. 4-65 (Bombay, 1891 [Śaka 1813, Saṃvat 1948]). In the Introduction, after wide, florid preliminary remarks dealing with the creative activity of the poet and the scientific one of the critic, Teza affirmed that, unlike happened in Greece, where authors refered to other authorities, *Purāṇa* gave *ancient things* . and that which the old saw, told, taught, is the truth' Then there is the translation. After the description of the birth and the beauty of the wonderful Sandhyā, the birth of Kāma. Properly Teza says that 'the legend is not very fine, because these ancient tales are addressed to people, not to solemn masters of divinities, so they cannot be documents of

7. Cf. E. TEZA, *Filologia orientale. I Il visnupurāna*, in 'Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo', II, 1869, pp. 809-814.

8. Cf. E. TEZA, *Tradizioni puraniche dell' India L'apparizione di amore. Yama cede a Śiva*, in 'Atti e memorie della R Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova', anno CCCLVIII, 1898-99, Nuova Serie—vol. XV, pp 343-358.

secret doctrines'. Then the A. translated some passages from the *Saura-upapurāṇa*, Poona, 1889 (pp. 350-356) and entitled them 'Yama yields to Śiva,'[9] In ch. LXIV there is the legend of king Vasuśruta, son of Satyadhvaja : Vasuśruta, even though he worshipped Śiva, was a bad king. When he died, Yama's messengers were already dragging him to hell, but heavenly beings led him to Śiva's heavenly town. Yama's messengers protested to the god of death, but he told them : 'You have to neglect with the utmost care the worshippers of Śiva. A sinner is delivered, provided he worships Śiva'. In ch. LXIX it is said why Śiva is called the Time of Time. In ch. III there is a legend in which *bhakta* elements are clearly noticeable. When the terrible hunter Suvyādi, despiser of Gods, died, Yama said : 'Even if he did not make other deeds, as he used words ending in *hara*, he preached the name *Hara* of the God and with this pious deed he burnt to ashes every sin.'[10] Lastly Teza went back to examine the *Kālikā-purāṇa* (pp. 357-358). He said that this *purāṇa* was the first to be translated into English : in 'Asiatic Researches' (London, 1907, vol. V, pp. 371-391) and said; "the *Rudhirādhyāya* or sanguinary chapter; translated from the Calica Puran. By W. C. Blaquiere, esq." Then the A. showed some verses of this English translation.

The characteristic of the paper is the presence of the only translation: comments do not touch on important problems, such as the *bhakta* substratum which appears from the legends of the *Saura-purāṇa*.

The following year, Teza published another paper on "Indian traditions" as narrated in the *purāṇa*-s. It is[11] a translation of chs.

9. The passages are from ch. LXIV, vv. 50-75; ch. LXIX, vv. 1-16; ch. III, vv. 27-35.

10. We can find similar *bhakta* legends in other *purāṇa-s* : see in S. PIANO, *L'India antica e la sua tradizione*, Messina-Firenze, 1975, pp. 122-126, the story of Gulika and Uttaṅka (*Nārada-purāṇa*, Bombay ed., 1905, I, 37, 19 and ff., presented in an inedited translation by the A.) and the story of Ajāmila (*Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, VI, 1 and 2) : the contents of the latter correspond nearly exactly to *Saura-upapurāṇa*, III. Also cf. *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Maheśvara-khaṇḍa*, *Kedārakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 5 (S. PIANO, *Note in margine al Viṣṇu-māhātmya*, in IT, III-IV, 1975-76, Torino, 1977, p. 385, fn. 32).

11. Cf. E. TEZA, *Le battaglie di Durga e degli Asuri. Tradizioni indiane*, in 'Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti', tomo LX (serie VIII, tomo III), parte II, Anno Accademico 1900-1901, pp. 611-620.

LXXXVII (64 verses)-LXXXVIII (42 verses) of the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* (ed by Banerjea, Calcutta, 1862) dealing with the fights of Durgā and Asura-s Also in this work puranic comparisons are absent. only some comparisons are made with the Iliad and Metamorphoses by Ovid The Introduction, after a preamble written in a flowery typical prose of that age, deals with the criteria of translation The A. suggested "trying a moderate use of liberty, checking repetitions [], simplifying the story, not adding images and veiling the most strange ones, without hiding them" (p 612) "The translator (=l'imitatore) approached minor works of a poetic school with more confidence (=franchezza) and less remorse, and these *memories of antiquity* which deal with cosmic origins, descriptions of mountains, rivers, lands and also narrations of revenges and protections of divinities, gifts and sacrifices [.] are minor texts for their proportions and their grip on intellects" (p 613)

This definition of *purāṇa-s* is interesting though not complete but we have to think about the time when this paper was prepared, the difficulties of finding material and particularly puranic material and so on

In 1879 Gaspare Gorresio, the well-known editor of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Paris, 1846-1870)[12] developped some bibliographical notes on Indian manuscripts In his work[13] the A informs us about the search and cataloguing of manuscripts assigned—for the Bengal province—to Pandit Ragendralala Mitra[14], for the province of Gujarat the task was assigned to Mr. G Buhler, who published a catalogue in three parts[15] In the Bengalese catalogue by R. Mitra 8 manuscripts of *itihāsa*-s and 15 MSS of *Purāṇa*-s are mentioned, they are described by Gorresio as "old divine and mythological

12. For a complete view of the life of Gorresio, see O BOTTO, *Gaspare Gorresio*, in EW, vol. V, 1953, pp 36 and ff.

13. Cf G. GORRESIO, *Dei manoscritti che si trovano nelle pubbliche e private biblioteche dell' India*, Torino, 1874.

14. *Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts* by Ragendralala Mitra, published under orders of the Government of Bengal, 1870-1873.

15. *A catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts contained in the private libraries of Gujarat etc ...*, compiled under the superintendence of G. Buhler by order of Government, Bombay, 1871-1872.

legends" (p 8). A brief disquisition follows about what *Purāna*-s are (p 9). In the 2nd part of the Catalogue of Gujarat MSS (which are 2818 in number) 214 *Purāna*-s and 98 *māhātmya*-s are quoted, "which claim to be considered parts of the *purāna*-s and very old, even if the recent origin of some of them is evident because of certain indications" (p. 16) [16]

These few but acute notes by G Gorresio anticipate in some way the conclusions of the most recent researches

Again in the dawn of these studies, we find a booklet by Beltrami[17] dealing with the translation of chs 7th and 8th of the *Mārkendeya-purāna*. In the "note" for the reader (pp V-XI) there are some concise and precise conclusions "[*The Purāna*-s] popularized the religious and philosophical doctrines that were exclusive inheritance of few initiates . this is the reason why a great number of moral sentences, myths and so on are included in them" (p IX). The translation is made carefully, but it is necessary to point out that any textual reference to the *Mārkandeya-purāna* and comparisons with other *Purāna*-s are absent

In 1902 the first of five papers[18] dealing with the puranic legend of Naciketa was published It was a successful attempt to go into an original Sanskrit text thoroughly, developping a complete critical analysis of it Before the analysis of the legend of Naciketa the A presents a wide introduction on "Indian Visions" (i. e. philosophical and religious visions) (pp 31-66), particularly on the various Indian visions about ultramundane future according to *Veda*-s, *Upanisad*-s, *Brāhmana*-s, and the Great Epic (pp 40-50) From p 51, Belloni-Filippi examines the eschatological problem in the *Purāna*-s. The A specially considers the contents of the *Bhāgavata-purāna*. The A

16 About the problem of the relationship between *māhātmya*-s and *purāna*-s see S PIANO, *Le 'celebrazioni' dei luoghi santi nella tradizione religiosa dell' Induismo*, which we shall deal with later.

17 Cf A BELTRAMI, *Haris-candro. Episodio del Mārkandeya-purāna (lettere 7a e 8a) Prima versione italiana dal sanscrito*, Girgenti, Formica e Gaglio, 1888

18 F BELLONI-FILIPPI, *Il "Nasiketopākhyānam" secondo i MSS "1253" e "916 c" dell' "India Office" preceduto da una notizia sulle "Visioni indiane"*, in GSAI, vol. XV, 1902, pp 27-77, XVI, I, 1903, pp 33-88, XVI, II, 1903, pp 229-255, XVII, I, 1904, pp. 113-153, XVII, II, 1904, pp 273-294

purāna and compares it with the *Mārkandeya-* and *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (pp. 52-57).

The second part of the Introduction deals with "the legend of Naciketa, its origins, its various versions" (pp 66-77) The A. considers the possibility that the legend of Naciketa finds its origin in the *Sākta* X, 135 of the *Rg-veda*, dealing with the *journey of a boy to Yama's kingdom*. Then he describes the legend as it appears in the *Taittirīya Upanisad* III, 11, 8, 1-6 (pp 68-70), in the *Katha Upanisad* I, 1,20-29 (pp 72-73) and in the *Mahābhārata* (pp 74-76). Interesting is the changeability of the name from Naciketa to Nāciketa and Nāsiketa · the last is utilized to develop the etymological story of the name, including the first four chapters which can be considered as the original part of the legend (vol. XVI, pp 33-38)

Then Belloni-Filippi describes the manuscripts he used A, codex 1253, B, condex 916c In both codices the tale is told as it is included in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāna* Considerable discrepancies are noticeable between A and B, in order to reconstruct the critical edition, the A. based himself on A; clearer, soberer and more correct than B. Then the 19 chapters which form the legend are published together with their translation and *apparatus criticus* Lastly (vol. XVII, II, pp. 273-294) there is an Appendix with the amendments proposed by Jacobi and Pavolini

About the legend of Naciketa, Tessitori[19] examined a version of the *Nāsiketopākhyāna* written in *Māravādī bhāsā*, the most important and wide-spread dialect among all other *Rājasthānī* dialects It was discovered by the A. in the Florentine MS *Pav.* 759 (*samvat* 1857) After an introduction in which the A. says that probably the source of this version of the legend of Naciketa is the Ms B (916c) studied by Belloni-Filippi, there is a linguistic analysis of the *kathā* According to Tessitori, this dialect would not be precisely the one called "standard *Mārwārī*" by Grieson (see p. 116, fn. 1), nor the Khyāla's one (p 116 fn. 2), but it would be *Māravādī* mixed with elements of *Jaipurī* and *Mālavī* These mixed forms are carefully examined (p. 116) The large use of *ai* and *au* diphthongs was emphasized and various examples of this use are presented. Then

19. L. P. TESSITORI, *Nāsaketa-rī kathā, o di una versione in māravādī-bhāsā del Nāsiketopākhyāna*, in RSO, VI, 1913, pp. 113-130.

there is the [illegible] the manuscript, i.e. the etymological [illegible] Nirukta (pp. 118-130). The original [illegible] characters and is followed by an Italian [illegible] Italian attempt in translating *Rigveda* [illegible] (pp. 117).

The [illegible] deserves greater attention. He was not only [illegible] Vedist, but also a philologist and a deep [illegible] of North Europe[20]. He left a [illegible] researches. In his first paramount work [illegible] the Introduction to Uvaṭa as included in the *Saura-[illegible]*. In a most complete way he studies affinities and [illegible] Indian version of the story of Uṣas, the wife [illegible] Kuśadvaj and that one in the *Bandhā[illegible]*.

Some years later, [illegible] approached the problems connected with the *De[illegible]*. The Vedic Faculty analysed the Greek version of *De[illegible]*, written by D. Galanos[24]. Pavolini noted that Galanos [illegible] than the one by Jīvānanda Vidyasāgara (*Mā[illegible]*, Calcutta, 1879, pp. 395-452) the proves of it was that [illegible] and by Galanos were better than the correspondent one [illegible].

On the *De[illegible]* we have also a paper of Bartoli[25]. As already seen in other works, also in Bartoli's essay a particular attention is laid on the [illegible] rather than on the analysis of

20. Among [illegible] work, let us cite P. E. PAVOLINI, *Kalevala, [illegible]*, Palermo, 1900.

21. P. E. PAVOLINI, *I [illegible] della leggenda di Uṣas*, in GSAI, XXI, pp. 291-298.

22. Cf. *Saura-[illegible]* ed. by Kṛṣṇamitra Śāstri Lele, ĀSS, n° 16, Poona, 1890, pp. 99-102. For a complete and deep analysis of the *Saura-purāṇa*, see WILHELM JAHN, *Das Sauraparāṇam. Untersuchungen zur Spätindischen Kultur-Geschichte und der Vedanta-Literatur. Inhaltsangabe nebst Übersetzungen Erklärungen und Indices von...*, Straßburg, 1908.

23. P. E. PAVOLINI, *L'opera di Demetrio Galanos II. Durgā*, in GSAI, XXVIII, 1916-1917, pp. 179-181.

24. About Galanos, see the paper by S. A. SCHULZ, *A Greek in India: Galanos*, in "Bharati" IX, 2, 1965-66, pp. 81-102.

25. E. BARTOLI, *Der [illegible]mayam*, in RIGI, I, fc. II, 1917, pp. 101-108.

the context from which the fable is taken The A. limits himself to a few short and general notices about the well-known *Devī-māhātmya* and to translate Chs V-VI Moreover he develops some hypotheses about the relations between the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Mahā-bhārata*, even if the approach to these problems is not developped in a rigorous way

In the same years the analysis of a *tīrtha-māhātmya* appears for the first time in a proper puranic analysis. Papesso studied the *Puṇḍarīkākṣa-māhātmya*, one among the very numerous eulogies inserted in the *Brahma-purāṇa*, together with *stotra-s*, *upākhyāna-s*, etc.

Peṇṇā (now Pennar) is the name of two rivers (pp 81-82) granting liberation from sins and illness. The *Māhātmya* is divided into twelve *adhyāya-s* the first six are the most interesting ones for their textual contents The analysis is developped in an interesting manner firstly there is a brief presentation of the subject-matter of the *Māhātmya*, secondly, the A. illustrated the 3 MSS used for textual comparisons (two of them are in *Telugu* characters), at last he edited the principal parts of the twelve chapters in transliterated Sanskrit, noting, in footnotes, the differences occurring in the manuscripts.

Han we come across an interesting work, which we can define a research developped according to ethnological criteria. The centre of the study[27] is not a *purāṇa* itself, but the comparative research on ethnologic coincidences between *phallos* and *liṅga*; for these comparisons the A used the legends about *liṅga* as told in various *purāṇa-s*.[28] In fact "puranic passages (dealing with *liṅga*) constitute one of the most important documents of the way by means of which from pre-existent and not understood myths other myth developped, which sought for an explanation of them"

26 V PAPESSO, *Il "Puṇḍarīkāmāhātmyam" attribuito al Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇam*, in GSAI, XXVII, 1915, pp 81-128

27 S TERRI, *Linga-phallos. Coincidenze etnologiche*, in RSO, VIII, 1919-1920, pp 465-478

28 Reference is made to the work W JAHN, *Die Legends von Śiva's Zeugung*, in ZDMG, LXIX, 1915, pp 529-557, LXX, 1916, pp 301 320, LXXI, 1917, pp 167-208.
For an exhaustive treatment of the argument see W D O'FLAHERTY, *Asceticism and eroticism in the mythology of Śiva*, Oxford University Press, 1973; First Indian impression Delhi, 1975. Particularly chs. IV-VI.

(p. 465) The A examined the well-known legend of the seduction by Śiva of the wives of the *muni*-s in the Devadāru-Vana and the *defixio* which turned off his *linga* as told in *Mahābhārata*, *Linga*-, *Skanda*-, *Kūrma*-, *Vāmana*-, *Śiva-purāna*, etc (pp 467-470). Unfortunately textual references are lacking.

Ferri analysed the cult of *phallos* in Greece (pp 471-475) the main difference from Hindu cult is that there is not an ample etiologic literature on this cult, although this one is widespread "There it not the organic unity, the harmonical complexity of puranic texts Greek texts are brief, bare, disconnected and incomplete" (p 471) The A quotes various passages from Herodotus and others, and from various scholia Lastly Ferri concluded that elements of puranic legends can be found in similar Greek myths in two similar cultural situations, similar myths grew in India and Greece, but Greece had not 1) theologians who kept the degeneration and the scattering of the myth, 2) a God centre of the myth itself (p 478)

Now we have to mention a brief paper by K. E Neumann and G. De Lorenzo [29] It deals with the mere translation of a well-known passage from the *Visnu-purāna* The A entitled it "Krsna moves a mountain", without giving any reference to the texts (cf *Visnu-purāna* (Wilson, 1840) V, 11) The translation would have been more complete, if it had included also chs 10 and 12

Before referring to the works of Vallauri, let us mention a valuable essay by G. Tucci,[30] one among the greatest Indologists of Italy and in the whole world

In the first part of his paper the A briefly illustrates Kirfel's work *Das Purāna-pañcalaksana, Versuch einer Textgeschichte* (Bonn, 1927) the text edited by Kirfel represents exactly the *pañcalakṣana* as it is included in some printed editions of *Purāna*-s At this point Tucci puts a proper question how much does this edition correspond with the MSS tradition and with the presumable original version of this section ? What value can we give to the

29 K. E NEUMANN-G DE LORENZO, *Krsna muove un monte* (*dal Visnupurānam*), in "Nuova Cultura", Napoli, 1922, pp 185-186

30. G. TUCCI, *Note Indologiche I A proposito del 'Purāṇapañcalaksana'*, in RSO, XII, 4, 1930, pp 408-419.

printed text of various *purāna*-s ? Is there a total concordance among all versions or do they differ among them ? If we compare quotations from puranic texts as we find them in ancient texts, can we affirm they agree with the *purāna*-s as they are in the actual versions ? Up to the present, this questions are the basis of every puranic research

Regarding Kirfel's work, the A. asks himself · can we start a critical edition of a *purāna*, subject to fluctuations and *rifacimenti*, basing it on foregoing editions ? Often various editions of the same *purāna* are different (for example, the southern edition of the *Bhāgavata-purāna* is different from the Bengali one) Not only chapters devoted to *pūjā*, ritual and so on but also historical chapters, as the ones devoted to *pañcalaksana* vary, according to the ambitions of various centres or to the genealogical claims of various families According to the Author's thought, we can have a critical text of *Pañcalaksana* only when we can have a critical text of each *Purāna*

In the second part, Tucci observes that some verses of *Matsya-purāna* (ĀSS, *adhyāya* 272, 13b-17) find their counterpart in the *Brahmānda-purāna* (Venkateśvar ed , III, 74, 135b-138) These verses contain a list of ten families contemporary with the Śisunāga dinasty. The A. develops some philological notes about the list

In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Buddhist literature we can find lists akin to those ones of the *Matsya-* and *Brahmānda-purāna* · we have three versions of these lists in the XXXth chapter of *Dīrghāgama* (Taisho ed , vol I, p 149, Nanjio, 545), in one separated version of the above mentioned chapter and in *Vinaya* of Dharmagupta (Nanjio, 1117), 31, 12

Among these texts and other ones—like *Loka-prajñapti-abhidharmaśāstra* (Nanjio, 1927)—he develops various comparisons (see tables of concordances on pp. 414-417).

In the third part of his paper, the A develops the problem regarding the real meaning we have to give to the word *pratisarga*. Tucci studied the problem examining various *purāna*-s and the interpretation of various annotators like Śridhara Jivagosvāmin, Viśvanāthacakravartin. In these few pages Prof Tucci shows his critical genius and his own acquaintance in about all the fields of oriental philology.

2. A New Approach

(a) Mario Vallauri (1887-1964)

The very valuable works of Prof. Mario Vallauri[31] surely mark a turning-point in Italian researches on puranic matter: unfortunately they are not so well-known abroad, and this gap we hope to fill partially in the present paper

In 1929 Prof. Vallauri published a very learned paper about puranic contributions to *nīti*-literature, particularly examining the *nīti*-chapters of *Matsya-* and *Agni-purāna*, which are summarized in detail.[32] Their contents substantially agree with those of other well-known texts however, the comparison points out some peculiar characteristics of the two examined texts, which can bring their useful cultural contribution Sections devoted to *nīti* begin in *Matsya-purāna* (ĀSS, No 54, Poona, 1907) with ch. 215 and in *Agni-purāna* (ĀSS, No 41, Poona, 1900) with ch 220, both dealing with the theme "excellence in the qualifications of companions (*sahāyasampattiḥ*)" Other subjects follow, from *anuyīvivartana* to *rājadharma*, from *daṇḍapurusakāra* to various *praśaṃsā*-s (*bheda-*, *dāna-*, *daṇḍa-praśaṃsā*), from *sāmādyupāya* to *yuddhayātrā*, from *ṣadguṇya* to *prātyahikarājakarman* and *ranadīkṣā* The A. summarizes each chapter and compares, stressing affinities and differences in the two *purāna*-texts The paper ends with some tables showing concordances (I) of *Agni-purāna* and *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra* (ed by T. Ganapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912), (II) of the *Agni-* and the *Matsya-purāna* and (III) of these two *purāna*-s and other texts, namely *Mahābhārata*, *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra* and the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra*

Contents and extent of puranic literature are also the subject of another essay by M Vallauri[33], in which he examines chs

31. For bio-bibliographical details see the *Obituary notices* by Oscar Botto in RSO, XL, 1965, pp 163-169, VIJ, III, 2. 1965, pp 305 f, EW, XV, 1-2, 1964-65, pp. 103-107.

32. M VALLAURI, *Contributi puranici alla conoscenza della 'Nīti'*, in 'Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino', Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol LXIV, Tomo II, 1929, pp 314-332

33 M. VALLAURI, *Composizione e contenuto del* Purāna *secondo il* Nāradapurāna, in 'Miscellanea della Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia', Torino, I, 1936, pp 59-66

92-109 of the first part of the *Nārada-purāna* (Bombay, Venk. ed. 1923) In the Author's opinion, these *adhyāya*-s are much more interesting than the famous ch 53 of the *Matsya-purāna*, utilized by Wilson for his puranic analyses[34], since they offer a summary of the contents of the 18 *Mahāpurāna*-s and not only a list of them with a brief hint to their extent Vallauri reminds us that this section of the *Nārada-purāna* was not known by Wilson who did not use it for his essays R C Hazra, in a paper published one year after the publication of Vallauri's[35], hints at this section of the text, but observation with regard to it[36] deeply differs from the conclusions which Vallauri had drawn. Comparing the data furnished by the *Nārada-purāna* with those which could be obtained from printed editions in his possession[37], the Italian scholar had verified that there was a coincidence of both contents and total number of verses only for three *Purāna*-s, namely *Skanda-*, *Matsya-*, and *Brahmānda-purāna* As regards all other texts, more or less considerable discrepancies do exist, and this happens particularly as far as the extent is concerned, which does not correspond not

34 Cf H H WILSON, *The Vishnu Purāna A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition* transl . .and illustrated. by. ., with an Intr by R C HAZRA, IIIrd ed , Calcutta, 1961, *Preface*, pp XVI ff, ID , *Essays analytical, critical and philological on subjects connected with Sanskrit Literature*, collected and edited by R Rost, vol I, London, 1864, pp 1-155 (*Analysis of the Purānas*) In this last text the analyses—previously published by Wilson—of the *Brahma-*, *Agni-*, *Brahmavaivarta-*, *Viṣnu-* and *Vāyu-purāna* are collected

35 Cf R C HAZRA, *The Brhannāradīya and the Nāradīya Purāna*, in IC, III, 3, 1937, pp 477-487, this paper has been reprinted in the volume by Hazra himself, *Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940 (2nd ed , Delhi, 1975)

36. Cf R. C HAZRA, *cit paper*, p 482 and *cit book*, p 132

37 The texts have been consulted by Vallauri in the following editions Ānandāsrama ed , Poona (*Brahma-*, *Padma-*, *Vāyu-*, *Agni* , and *Matsya- purāna*), Venkatesvar Press ed., Bombay (*Nārada-*, *Mārkandeya-*, *Bhavisya-*, *Brahmavaivarta-*, *Skanda-*, *Vāmana-*, *Garuda-* and *Brahmānda-purāna*), Nirnaya Sagar Press ed , Bombay (*Bhāgavata-purāna*), Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta (*Varāha* and *Kūrma- purāna*), Jibananda Vidyasagara ed , Calcutta (*Linga-purāna*), as far as *Visnu-purāna* is concerned, Vallauri does not expressly quote the edition and he seems to refer to Wilson's translation,

even when the contents are described with a certain approximation.[38] After considering one by one the 18 *Mahāpurāṇa*-s and discussing, even if summarily, their contents, the paper ends with an interesting observation on the total extent of the *Mahāpurāṇa* literature on the basis of the data given by the *Nāradapurāṇa*, a total of 390,000 verses is obtained, which is very near but not coincident with the traditional one of 400,000, while the data given by the *Matsya-purāṇa* (Poona, 1907) bring to a total of 404,800 verses; according to an approximate calculation made by Vallauri on the editions he consulted, the total number of verses should be only about 350,000.[39] This work shows Vallauri's deep knowledge of puranic literature in its whole, in a period when detailed essays on this subject did not exist, except those ones by Hazra, which appeared exactly between 1930 and 1940.[40] It is

38 Vallauri makes some interesting observations about single *Purāṇa-s*. As regards the *Viṣnu-purāṇa*, the examined text attributes 23,000 verses to it, while the work—such as we have it—does not reach 7,000. Vallauri supposes that the analysis given by the *Nārada-purāṇa* can include, among the contents of the *Viṣnu-* also the whole *Viṣnudharmottara-purāṇa* (in fact it speaks about a conclusive section called precisely *Viṣnudharmottara*) but this text, in its Bombay edition (1912), reaches by itself the indicated number of verses. Something similar happens to the *Vāyupurāṇa* to which *Nārada* attributes an extent of 24,000 verses, while the Poona edition reckons 10,991. Vallauri suggests that the *Śivasaṃhitā*, which should constitute the most part of an *uttara-bhāga* of which there is no trace in the printed text, could correspond to a *Śiva-purāṇa* not known to him. But the Bombay edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa* (Venkateśvar Press, 1895-96) seems to us—even only after a rough estimate—to reach 24,000 verses by itself. Lastly it is unknown to Vallauri (and also to us) the *Bṛhadvāmana-purāṇa* divided into four *saṃhitā-s* each containing 1000 verses, which—according to *Nārada*—should form the second part of the *Vāmana-purāṇa*, to which 10,000 verses are attributed, while the Bombay edition reaches a total of about 5,600.

39. On this subject, see BALADEVA UPADHYAYA *Purāṇavimarśa*, Vārāṇasi, 1965, pp. 75 ff. and G. BONAZZOLI, *The Dynamic Canon of the Purāṇas*, quoted below.

40 See, among them *The Apocryphal Brahma-purāṇa*, in "Indian Culture", II, 2, 1935, pp. 235-246; *The Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, in NIA, I, 8, 1938, pp. 522-528, *The Bṛhannāradīya and the Nāradīya Purāṇa*, cit.; *The Date of the Viṣnu-purāṇa*, in ABORI, XVIII, 1937, pp. 265-275; *The*

a first hand study, exclusively developped on Sanskrit sources and with the only bibliographical aid of Wilson's analyses.

We have also to ascribe to Prof. Vallauri the merit of firstly attracting Italian scholars' attention to the wide *Upapurāna*-literature, which is up till now a field of researches mostly unexplored and of utmost interest. Preceding in this case too R. C. Hazra's analysis[41], he published in 1939 an essay dealing with the *Narasiṃha-purāna*[42], based on the Bombay edition of the text.[43] In the beginning of his paper, Vallauri stressed the importance of the *purāna*-contents and emphasized the necessity that this material—both the doctrinal and the narrative one—is "methodically collected and analytically distributed in an index of proper names and subjects, fitted out with brief references and with the quotations of all puranic sources" (p. 237). Up till now we miss such a work, in spite of the publication of indexes and encyclopaedic works all of

Dates of the Smṛti-Chapters of the Matsya-purāna, ibid., XVII, 1935-36, pp. 1-36, *The Devī-purāna*, in NIA, V, 1, 1942, pp. 2-20, *The Kālikā-purāna*, in ABORI, XXII, 1941, pp. 1-23, *The Liṅga-purāna*, in IC, IV, 4, 1938, pp. 415-421, *The Mahāpurānas*, in DUS, II, 1938, pt. 2, pp. 62-69, *Our present Agni purāna*, in IHQ, XII, 1936, pp. 683-691, *Our present Bhavisya-purāna*, in IC, III, 1936, pp. 223-229, *The Padma-purāna*, ibid., IV, 1, 1937, pp. 73-95, *Prepurānic hindu Society before 200 A. D.*, in IHQ, XV, 1939, pp. 403-431, *Purāṇa literature as known to Ballālasena* in JOR, Madras, XII, 1938, pp. 129-146, *Purānas in the History of Smṛti*, in IC, I, 4, 1935, pp. 587-614, *The purānic rites and customs as influenced by the economic and social needs of the Sacerdotal Class*, in DUJ, XII, 1936, pp. 91-101, *The Smṛti Chapters of the Kūrma-Purāna*, in IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 265-286, *The Smṛti chapters of the Purānas*, ibid., pp. 108-130, *Some minor Purānas* in ABORI, XIX, 1938, pp. 69-79, *The Upapurānas*, ibid., XXI, 1939-40, pp. 38-62, *The Varāha-purāna*, ibid., XVIII, 1937, pp. 321-337, *The Vāyu Purāna*, in IHQ, XIV, 2, 1938, pp. 331-339.

41. *The Narasiṃha-purāna*, in ABORI, XXVI, 1945, pp. 32-88, reprinted in R. C. HAZRA, *Studies in the Upapurānas*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 219-266.

42. M. VALLAURI, *Illustrazione e analisi del* Narasiṃha-purāna, in RSO, XVIII, 2, Roma, 1939, pp. 237-258.

43. *The Narsinh Puran* (Second Edition), Bombay, Gopal Narayan & Co, 1911.

which are lacking the quality of completeness.[44] A work of this kind—which should be based at least on all *Mahāpurāṇa-s* and *Upapurāṇa-s* published up till now—would certainly offer an exhaustive panorama of Indian civilization, especially from the mythological and religious point of view, and it would be an irreplaceable instrument of consultation.[45] After affirming the importance of the *Purāṇa-s* as sources—together with the *Mahābhārata*—of Hinduism, Vallauri tries to date the *Narasiṃha-purāṇa* which he placed between the XIII and XIV century A. D., fixing the *terminus a quo* by virtue of a passage of the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa (4, 6-10) quoted in *Narasiṃha-purāṇa* III, 23-32, and the *terminus ad quem* through a quotation by Mallinātha who reports in his commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa* X, 56, expressly mentioning the source, a passage which is found in *Narasiṃha-purāṇa* XLVII, 38b–39a.[46] The analysis of the 68 *adhyāya-s* of the text (pp. 240-255) is developped in detail, according to the method already tested by the Italian scholar in his *Sommari dello Skanda-purāṇa*, and an index of proper names and

44. See, for instance, V. R. R DIKSHITAR, *The Purāṇa Index*, 3 vols., Madras 1951-55; V. MANI, *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*, first ed. in English, Delhi, 1975; S. S. CITRAV, *Bhāratavarṣiya Prācīn Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1964; R. P. ŚARMĀ, *Paurāṇik Kośa*, Vārāṇasi, Vikram Saṃvat 2028.

45. Vallauri himself had already given an essay of this kind of work, planning its methodology, in other papers we will be speaking about below.

46. R. C. HAZRA, in conclusion of a full series of argumentations, dates on the contrary the text back to period between 400 and 500 A. D. (*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, cit., pp. 235-242). In this connection, it is worth noting that *Dūtāṅgada's* quotation on which Vallauri grounds his datation is used (with the aim of dating the work as it appears in its Bombay edition) also by V. Raghavan (cf. V. RAGHAVAN, *The Date of the Narasiṃha Purāṇa*, in *India Maior*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 239 f. This paper has been reprinted in "Purāṇa" XV, 1, 1973, pp. 143-145), who seems not to be acquainted with Vallauri's work. Raghavan himself informs us about two quotations from the *Raghuvaṃśa* (XI, 17 [and not IX, 17] and XII, 34) which had already been pointed out by G. Borsani Scalabrino (*La storia di Rāma nel Narasiṃhapurāṇa*, Milano, 1953, pp. 12 and 38). P. Hacker, for his part, dates the *Narasiṃha-purāṇa* before 1100 A.D. (cf. P. Hacker, *Prahlāda. Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt*, in "Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur", 1959, n. 13, II, p. 156 n. 1).

noteworthy concepts facilitates the consultation, constituting a contribution to the formation of the augured complete puranic index.

We have just mentioned a work which is the most important contribution given by Mario Vallauri to puranic studies, in fact during his researches on this field, he was obviously attracted by the imposing bulk and richness of contents of the *Skanda-purāṇa*[47], the text which is near enough to the extent of the *Mahābhārata*. Vallauri starts from the summary in 213 *śloka-s* constituting *adhyāya* 104 of the first part of the *Nārada-purāṇa* and ascertains that the contents described there substantially correspond to those of the printed text in the Bombay edition[48], then he starts an imposing study which is articulated in six successive papers and presents a detailed summary, chapter by chapter, of the first four *khaṇḍa-s* out of the seven in which the work is divided.[49] In the first of these essays Vallauri examins the third section of the third *khaṇḍa*, entitled '*Brahmottarakhaṇḍa*', which first attracted his attention for both 'its content almost exclusively narrative' and 'its notable diffusion as a text apart'.[50] Before proceeding to the analysis of the

47 See M. VALLAURI, *Il "Brahmottarakhaṇḍa" dello "Skanda purāṇa" tradizionale*, in GSAI, n. s., II, 4, 1934, pp 300-322, ID., *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa I. Maheśvarakhaṇḍa*, in GSAI, n. s., III, 1, 1934, pp 1-47, *II Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa*, in GSAI, III, 2, 1935, pp 153-203 and III, 3-4, 1935, pp 257-289, *III Brahmakhaṇḍa*, in "Aevum", XII, 2-3, 1938, pp 369-410, *IV Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, in "Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino" serie II, Tomo 71, pt II, 1951, pp. 1-38.

48. Venkateśvar Press, 7 vols., 1910.

49. It is really a pity that Vallauri could not bring this work to an end. However, it has recently been resumed by an *equipe* of research scholars—under the scientific guidance of Stefano Piano at the Institute of Linguistics of the University of Genova (Italy), with the contribution of the Italian National Council for Scientific Research (C. N. R.). The research has been started in 1979 and the first results have already been sent to the press (they are the analyses, by Miss M. P. Repetto, of the first 30 *adhyāya-s* of the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*). The *equipe* directed by Prof. Piano proposes to complete the analysis of Vallauri, preparing the summaries of *khaṇḍa-s* 5 to 7 of the *Skanda-purāṇa* and then compiling a Dictionary of proper names and noteworthy subjects occurring in the whole text.

50. See M. VALLAURI, in "Aevum", p. 369.

text, Vallauri illustrates the edition he used, and dwells upon the *prastāvanā* of this edition, which reports (folios 12b–13) precious data about the composition and the contents of a *Skandopapurāna* divided into six *samhitā-s*.[51] The Italian scholar, on the basis of these data and of various notices of manuscripts, seems to be inclined to believe in the existence of a *Skandopapurāna* distinct from the *Mahāpurāna* with the same title which we possess [52]

The A presents then (pp 304-320) the accurate analysis of the 22 *adhyāya*-s of the *Brahmottarakhanda* (2,094 verses in all), makes an index, in which there are proper names of persons intentionally chosen among those little known, i e excluding the names of divinities and other well-known personages The content of the text is very interesting and the various stories proclaim "the necessity of religious observance" and contribute "to the exaltation of the cult of Śiva and the glorification of that God" (p 303)

In the *Introductory Note* he premises a second essay (devoted to the analysis of the *Maheśvarakhanda*) and states that the matter of the *Skanda-purāna* is a "virgin matter", able to "enlighten the

51 They are *Sanatkumāra–*, *Sūta–*, *Śamkarī–*, *Vaisnavī–*, *Brahmī–*, and *Saura-samhitā* A *Skanda-purāna* figures at the third place in the lists of *Upapurāna*-s which are in *Kūrma-purāna* (crit ed) I, 1, 17-20, *Skanda-purāna* (Bombay ed) VII, I, 2, 11-14 and *Garuda-purāna* (Bombay ed) I. 223, 17-20 As regards the last text, the *prastāvanā* of the *Skandapurāna* gives as reference *adhyāya* 227, and this fact made it impossible to Vallauri to find out the passage in the Bombay edition which he used (cf fn 3, p 302) In fact, the quotation in question is in chapter 227 of the Vanga ed , which corresponds to ch. 223 of the Bombay ed (Venk Press, 1906) and to ch. 215 in those of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta, 1890) and of Rāmasankara Bhattācārya (KSS No 165, Vārānasi, 1964). Moreover we have to notice that the *Skanda-purāna* figures only in four of the the 23 lists of *Upapurāna* mentioned by R C HAZRA, *Studies in the Upapurāna*, I, Calcutta, 1958, pp 4-43 (besides those quoted, it is also in a list of the *Saura-samhitā* of the *Skanda-purāna* which is, in this case, perhaps exactly the *Upapurāna* which Vallauri speaks about).

52. According to Hazra (*op cit*, II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 476), the *Skanda-upapurāna* would be identical to the *Nandī-* or *Nanda-purāna*, but in this connection it seems to us that Vallauri's essay offers enough data in support of the existence of an autonomous *upapurāna* with this title.

complex picture and already so rich in colours of that Indian civilization in which it holds indeed the first place a religious creation really inexhaustible and kaleidoscopical in its traditions, myths, legends and in its rites and observances of cult". After noting that the *Maheśvarakhaṇḍa* alone, with its 12,001 verses, is near enough to the comprehensive dimensions of some edited *Mahāpurāṇa*-s, Vallauri illustrates the methodology he followed in preparing his analyses, completed by the usual index of proper names which also includes, this time, the names of places, both the mythical and real ones He trusts he will be able to complete his work (sad to say, it will not happen), being willing to gather in an index the onomastics of the whole text, a work which could be useful to the general Sanskrit lexicon.

In two successive essays, Vallauri shows the contents of the *Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa*, the only unifying element of which is that of helping to glorify the God Viṣṇu The fourth *(Kārttikamāsamāhātmya)* and the seventh *(Vaiśākhamāsamāhātmya)* section of this book reveal a peculiar richness of narrative material and are provided with the *ṭīkā* of Harikṛṣṇa Śāstrin, of which Vallauri does not fail to summarize wide parts, where it reports stories in full, scarcely touched upon in the text and very interesting, in that "they generally are stories little known and sometimes new" (GSAI, III, 2, p. 154). Although he intended to avoid—at least in this place—every comparative research with other puranic texts, he observes that the *Kārttikamāhātmya* (which had to enjoy large popularity) can also be found, sharing many parts with the *Skanda-purāṇa*, in the *Padma purāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa* 90-125, Poona ed., 1894, 88-123, Bombay ed, 1927), while the story of Jalaṃdhara, which constitutes the most important episode of this *Māhātmya*, occurs in the *Padma-purāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa, adhyāya-s* 3-19) too. He finally notices that the ninth section, called *Vāsudevamāhātmya* is a text different and autonomous from the "*Vāsudevasya māhātmya*" of which the *Nārada-purāṇa* (I, 104, 15b) writes as being a part of the *Maheśvarakhaṇḍa* and which corresponds to the subject really developped in the first part of *adhyāya* 42 of this *khaṇḍa*.

After the publication of the "Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana" (Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society) ceased to appear, the Summaries of the third *khaṇḍa* (with the exception of the *Brahmottarakhaṇḍa*, previously examined) were published by Vallauri in the review "Aevum", while the Academy of Sciences of Turin

published the Summaries of the last *khanda* examined by Vallauri, the *Kāśīkhanda* of 11,711 verses (this section is endowed, in the Bombay ed , with the *ṭīkā* of Rāmānanda, disciple of Rāmendravana)

While prefacing this last essay, Vallauri makes some remarks which we think is worth dwelling upon briefly. In fact he picks out the unitary character of the extensive puranic literature, a so little homogeneous one at first sight, in the "religious idea, which is substantially one although it is found distorted by an anormous number of practices of cult, of observances, of rites of legends and traditions which are different and sometimes contrasting" According to Vallauri, this "conceptual unity of the *Purāna-s*—which consists in the co-existence of theism and pantheism determining the interpretation of the personal God as perceivable aspect of the only unrecognizable divine reality—has never been sufficiently brought to light, and too many scholars have insisted on the *vaiṣnava* or *śaiva* character of this or that *Purāna*" This distinction would have been made under the influence of the *pandit-s* who cannot easily "free themselves from the sectarian habit which family and caste beliefs impose and native tradition strenghtens, promoting some *Purāna-s* to the rank of nearly canonical texts for this or that sect"

The last essay by M Vallauri on the *purāna-s* is devoted to the *Śivagītā*[53] The *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Īśvaragītā* were the only two *gītā-s* known to western scholars when this paper was published, the last one through a French translation[54] In a learned Introduction, Vallauri deals with other *gītā-s* (like the *Ganeśagītā*, the *Brahmagītā*, the *Sūtagītā*, the *Yamagītā* and the *Rāmagītā)* : these texts constitute a peculiar literary genre and are very important for

53 M VALLAURI, *La 'Śivagītā'*, in 'Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino', serie II, tomo 70, pt. II, 1942, pp 299-316 We have to mention a further paper the Italian scholar devoted to the popularization of the *Purāna*-literature in his country, namely *I 'Purāna' e la storia della cultura in India*, in 'Scientia', anno XLIX, 1955, vol CX, n. DXXIV, serie VI, pp. 402-407. It is a general introduction to the *Purāna*-literature, its formation and characteristics, its great importance for the knowledge of ancient and medieval Indian culture.

54. Cf. *L' Īśvaragītā Le Chant de Śiva, Texte extrait du Kūrmapurāna*, traduit du Sanskrit par P E. Dumont, Baltimore-Paris, 1931.

the knowledge of Indian religious and philosophical thoughts The text the A analyses in its Bombay edition (1886) claims to be a part of the *Padma-purāna, Uttarakhanda*, while according to a source quoted by Rājendralāla Mitra[55] it was a part of the *Matsya-purāna*, but it is not traceable in the printed editions of those texts In part II of his paper, Vallauri drafts a detailed summary of the 16 *adhyāya-s* of the text, while the third part is an anthology of it in Italian translation More than 100 verses are here translated, with special reference to doctrinal and philosophical contents Lastly a very interesting Appendix shows the concordances of the *Śivagītā* with some other Sanskrit texts [56]

In conclusion, we can say that Vallauri's contributions really show a new approach to Sanskrit puranic literature, conditioning further Italian studies in this field of Indology upto nowadays

(b) Other Contributions.

Vallauri left a durable mark in the Italian school of Indological studies, and particularly increased the importance of the Indological school of Turin His cultural heritage was kept up by his pupils, among whom we must mention O Botto and C Della Casa.[57] After the great moment of puranic studies developped by Vallauri, a new study, a new attention toward "the old legends" grew following the interest caused by his essay on the *Narasimha-purāna*,[58] other two works have been published in Italy, with a long interval between them the former written by Giuseppina Borsani

55. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, vol I, pt I, No XIV, Calcutta, 1879, p 95

56 Vallauri's analisis of the *Śivagītā* has already been presented to foreign scholars by E R MOROZZI, *An Introduction to the Śivagītā*, in JOR, XXXIV/XXXV, 1964-65/1965-66, Madras, pp 88-94 We have lastly to mention a graduation thesis on the same subject, presented at the University of Turin by Miss A COMBA in 1980.

57. Prof Oscar Botto is Chairman and Director of the Institute of Indology of Turin and Vice-President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies Prof Carlo Della Casa is Chairman of Sanskrit at the State University of Milan

58. We remind, for requirements of completeness, also the unpublished graduation thesis of S PIANO, *Cosmogonia e cosmografia nel Narasimha-purāṇa*, Torino, 1963.

Scalabrino,[59] the latter by the late[60] Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano.[61] Scalabrino's work consists of the Italian translation, with a brief introductory note, of *adhyāya*-s 47-52 of the *Narasiṃha-purāna*, telling the story of the *avatāra* of Rāmacandra in 784 *śloka*-s. It is a summary of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*, "one of the most detailed and faithful which we can find in the puranic literature" (p. 3) in fact the six *adhyāya*-s of the *upapurāna* almost exactly correspond, as regards the contents, to the first six *kānda*-s of the *Ādikāvya*, while there is no trace of the seventh (*Uttarakānda*) in this compendium. Scalabrino's version was carried out on the two Bombay editions (1889 and 1911), both "defective and anything but critical" (p. 4) and the text had to be emended many times, on the basis of the meaning and of metric requirements, as well as a result of the comparisons with the *Rāmāyana* and the *Raghuvaṃśa*, the data of these corrections and comparisons are given in the footnotes.

Even if F. Ducrey Giordano's essay is more recent, it is important to quote it here, as a completion of the study of *Narasiṃha-purāna* in fact this work concerns the field of art and illustrates the evolution of the iconography of Narasiṃha through the analysis of a considerable number of *mūrti*-s. In the interpretation of the pieces, the A. attaches the utmost importance to the Sanskrit texts (both the puranic ones and not) which tell the story of the fourth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu—*in primis* precisely *adhyāya*-s 40-44 of the *Narasiṃha-purāna*—from which artists have always taken their inspiration in producing their works, and this enables him to give an always complete and exhaustive interpretation of the examined images. Some ideas are particularly interesting, such as the interpretation that Giordano gives of the leaping of the man-lion from the pillar, considered as "natural seat" (p. 22) of the god, or of the moment in which the event does take place (*saṃdhyākāle*) as "everlasting instant of *dharma*" (p. 40). After mentioning the datings of the

59 Cf. G. BORSANI SCALABRINO, *La storia di Rāma nel Narasiṃha-purāna*, Milano, 1953.

60 Cf. O. BOTTO, *Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano (Obituary)*, in IT, III-IV, 1975-76, Torino, 1977, pp. 13 and ff.

61 Cf. F. DUCREY GIORDANO, *Di alcune rappresentazioni iconografiche dell'* avatāra *di Narasiṃha alla luce dei* Narasiṃha-purāna *e di altre fonti*, in 'Memorie dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei', Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie VIII, vol. XX, fc. 1, Roma, 1977.

Narasiṃha-purāṇa suggested by Vallauri, by P. Hacker and R. C. Hazra,[62] the A himself brings forward his own contributions on this vexed question, speaking in favour of the hypothesis that the text is rather old (p 7). An abundant iconographic material, collected in 37 plates, furnishes the volume with a documentation which constitutes an *unicum* in its kind for both originality and completeness On the whole it is a fascinating work of philology and history of art, which shows what and how often the puranic literature can offer to us for an investigation of the most different aspects of Indian culture and civilization.

In 1952, an important critical-comparative work was written by C Della Casa[63] about the puranic versions of the episode of Sāvitrī The A illustrates the well-known legend[64] and reconstructs it on the recensions of the *Matsya-*[65] and *Viṣnudharmottara purāṇa*[66] The A points out the relations between these two *Purāṇa*-s According to elements present in both texts and evidences from the concordance table, he infers that the legend of Sāvitrī of the *Matsya-* and *Viṣnudharmottara-purāṇa* can be brought back to an only original text (see p 4), which seems to be nearer to the *Viṣnudharmottara-purāṇa.* Then the A develops the problem whether this recostructed text presupposes the legend of Sāvitrī as told in the *Mahābhārata* or, on the contrary, this one has come from the text considered (p 5) In the A's opinion, the reconstructed text would be nearer to the originary legend than the mahabharatian one, which seems to be a poetic development of the original text which "would have had the sense of a treatment in a dialogue of moral wisdom" (p 6) After the table of concordances (pp 8-9) there is the reconstructed text—in transliterated Sanskrit—with the apparatus criticus (pp. 10-24) and an accurate Italian translation (pp 25-36).

62. Vide fn 46 p. 137.

63 Cf. C. DELLA CASA, *L' episodio di Sāvitrī ricostruito sulle recensioni del Matsya-e del Viṣnudharmottara-purāṇa,* in 'Atti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei', Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, etc, serie VIII, vol. V, fc 1, 195', Roma, 1954, pp. 1-36

64. A reference to this legend is made by Bartoli (*op. cit*, p 105) about the presence of a sort of caricature of this tale in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata*

65. Ānandāśrama ed, Poona, 1907.

66. Veṅkateśvar Press ed, Bombay, 1912.

In another [illegible] objects as they [illegible] and *Viṣṇudharmottara* (*ed. cit.*), II, [illegible] the connections between [illegible] chapters of the [illegible] on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which [illegible] the conclusion, which [illegible] of these two texts [illegible] the dependence [illegible] the two mentioned texts [illegible] do not seem to derive [illegible] from [illegible] the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, [illegible] sometimes from [illegible] other, which [illegible] when they have no [illegible] could be derived from [illegible] of the *Matsya-* and *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, the A. analyzes [illegible] compares them with the [illegible] the result of this exhaustive [illegible] among *Matsya-*, *Viṣṇudharmottara-*, [illegible] *Mānasāra*, *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and *Aparājitapṛcchā*, and [illegible] among [illegible] *Matsya-*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and [illegible] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, *Mahābhārata*, *Manusmṛti*, *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Agnipurāṇa* and [illegible] Lastly, there is the text

67 G. C. DI LAVENA, *La teoria politica indiana nei trattati sulle arti secondo il Matsya- e del Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, in 'Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria", vol. XVIII, n.s. IV, Firenze 1950, 1 of pp. 1–50

68 *Loc. cit.*, p. 111, in fn 61

69. Ānanda Āśrama ed., Poona, 1900, chapters 220, 221, 222.

70. *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*, rev. and edit. by R. SHAMA-SASTRI, Mysore, 1951; *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, edit. by T. GANAPATI SASTRI, Trivandrum, 1912, *Mahābhārata*, for the first time critically edited by V. S. SUKTHANKAR, Poona, 1933 ff., for other [illegible] The *Mahābhārata*— by VEDA VYĀSA RISHI, Calcutta 1834-39; *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. *Manusmṛti* with the *Bhāṣya* of BHATTA MEDHĀTITHI. Bombay, 1920, The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, with the Commentaries of MITRA MIŚRA and VIJÑANEŚVARA, Benares, 1930, The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* of *Vāgbhaṭa*, with the Commentary of ARUṆADATTA. Bombay 1891[2],

together with Italian translation [71] Della Casa's valuable works try to offer some explanations about frequent connections among various *purāṇa*-s and other texts We hope that this system of puranic investigation can be more and more developped by other scholars so as to find the network, the substratum which seems to be the basis of some *purāṇa*-s or of some specific parts of them, and its connections with other works

A unique work of its kind is Bausani's essay [72] dealing with a persian version of the *Matsya-purāṇa* (end of the XVIII century) "Persian, the official language of Mughal India from the end of the XVth to the first half of XIXth century, has an "Indian" literature which is little known" (p 169) The Persian language was one of the means by which Hindū thought was known by Westerners Some Englishmen encouraged translations from Sanskrit into Persian, like J. Duncan, who founded a Sanskrit College in Benares for studies on Hindū law, literature and religion On his request the complete translation of the *Matsya-purāṇa* into Persian was made by the *brāhmana* Gośā'in Anandghan of Delhi, resident in Benares, during the years 1791-1792 Bausani describes the manuscripts kept in the Caetani's Foundation for Muslim studies Then the A reports the text and the Italian translation of the most important part of the introduction to the translation of the *Matsya purāṇa*, written by Gośā'in After this Bausani illustrates the main peculiarities of the translation which is divided into nine books At the end of each *adhyāya*, Gosā'in Anandghan adds some verses in which he places his pen-name (Hoś, which means 'glad') Moreover he adds to the text some verses of his own, specially commenting salient passages At last Bausani reports some *śloka* s

The *Suśrutasamhitā* of SUŚRUTA, with the Commentary of ŚRĪ DALHANĀCĀRYA. .Bombay, 1938 [3]

71 A similar analysis of concordances was already made by M VALLAURI, in his paper *Contributi puranici alla conoscenza della "Niti"*, (see p 133). M Vallauri develops mainly the study of *Matsya-*, and *Agni-purāna*, and connections with *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra*, *Yājñavalkya-smrti* and *Mahābhārata* are pointed out As Della Casa infers the common origin of *Matsya-*, *Viṣnudharmottara-* and *Agni-purāna*, so does Vallauri with the *Matsya-* and *Agni-purāna* (p 314).

72. Cf A. BAUSANI, *Notizia di una traduzione persiana inedita del* Matsyapurāṇa *della fine del secolo XVIII*, in RSO, XXXI, 1956, pp 169-177.

of the first *adhyāya* of the Sanskrit *Matsya-purāṇa* together with Italian translation and then the Persian version also with translation. It clearly appears that the Persian version is very far from being literal and makes us think that the Author could have used "rifacimenti" of the *Matsya-purāṇa* written in modern Indian languages.

Coming back to Vallauri's school in Turin, a very important scholar, the successor of Prof. Vallauri should be mentioned, he is Oscar Botto, who devoted his researches mainly to *nīti* problems and *nīti* literature; he published a very interesting paper on this subject with special reference to the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*[73], which is devoted in the great part of the second *khaṇḍa* to *rājankarma*. The A. observes that some *adhyāya-s* are nearer to those ones of *rājanīti* literature (see, for instance, ch. 2 to 6); after dealing (pp. 164-165) particularly with the 5th and 6th *adhyāya-s*, in which the distinctive features of *purohita* and *mantrin-s* are described, the A. develops various comparisons among the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and specific texts on *nīti*, such as *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmandakīya*, *Nītivākyāmṛta*, *Gautamadharmasūtra*, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. Then Prof. Botto emphasizes the reference[74] to the fact that the king had to safeguard his subjects from the great power obtaind by *kāyastha-s*, forming a new caste which reached the height of power under king Śaṅkaravarman (883-902). Wide and learned searches are made by Prof. Botto on this subject, with broad quotations from works like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 90; 621; 629; VII, 1226 etc.), *Yaśastilakacampū* and *Kalāvilāsa* (Vth *sarga*). He lastly observes that the quoted passage of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* occurs in *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1, 336 and without any doubt traces back to this *smṛti*, being at the same time 'an interesting anticipation of what will be started by Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa'. (p. 169). This essay is not only very interesting from the point of view of puranic researches, but also shows Prof. Botto's acumen and cleverness in debating historical problems, in that it gives a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the growing power of *kāyastha-s* in ancient and medieval India.

73. Cf. O. BOTTO, *Intorno ad alcuni temi di* rājaniti *del* Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, in "Melanges d'Indianisme a la memoire de Louis Renou", Pub. de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fascicule 28, Paris, 1968, pp. 161-169.

74. Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, II, 61, 29-30.

3. Puranic studies today

Although puranic studies—in our opinion—are far from exhausting their analytical phase, an attempt of synthesis has been made in the seventies by Caterina Conio, who is a scholar of philosophy and history of religions. In her work devoted to Myth and Philosophy in Indian tradition, with particular reference to puranic cosmogony[75], she tried to present a synthesis of the cosmogonical ideas illustrated in puranic literature. The book—which has been reviewed not only in Italy[76] but also in India[77]—even if questionable and lacking from many points of view and vitiated by an often hypercritical approach, is nevertheless a contribution to the popularization of the cosmogonical conceptions set forth in many sections of puranic texts in their present form[78].

Nowadays puranic studies are the main field of research of Prof. Botto's pupil Stefano Piano, who is preparing the Italian translation of a large number of *māhātmya*-s from *Mahāpurāṇa*-s, together with Introduction and critical and philological notes. Among his published papers let us mention a note on *Viṣṇu-māhātmya*-s read at the Second World Sanskrit Conference (Turin, 1975)[79]. The A. does not consider a single *Purāṇa* (what would be

75. Cf. C. CONIO, *Mito e filosofia nella tradizione indiana. Le cosmogonie nei Mahāpurāṇa*, Milano, 1974.

76. By S. PIANO in "Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa", XII, 3, Torino, 1976, pp. 421-423 and by M. PIANTELLI, in IT, II, 1974 (Torino, 1976), pp. 425-427.

77. By G. BONAZZOLI, in "Purāṇa", XVIII, 1, 1976, pp. 103-107.

78. We need just to mention, on the same subject, a paper by G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, *I miti cosmogonici degli Yezidi* in "Numen", XXI, 3, 1974, pp. 197-227. In this paper of ethnological character the cosmogonical Yezidi myth of the cosmic pearl/egg is examined, and an appendix (pp. 223-225) is devoted to the topic of the cosmic egg in Indian religious tradition from the *Brāhmaṇa-s* upto the *Purāṇa-s*. Reference is made to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Wilson's translation), *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Pargiter's transl.) and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (in J. MUIR, *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India*, London, 1874, rep. Amsterdam, 1967, vol. IV).

79. Cf. STEFANO PIANO, *Note in margine al Viṣṇu-māhātmya* in IT, III-IV (1975-76), *Proceedings of the Second World Sanskrit Conference*, pp. 379-385.

limitative, because of the peculiar puranic structure), but one *māhātmya* in various puranic recensions The leit-motiv of this paper is the *bhakti* cult as expressed in the *Viṣnu māhātmya*-s of various *Mahāpurāna*-s The common aim of these eulogies is the glorification of the Name of God The *Viṣnu-māhātmya*-s of the *Garuda-purāna* (KSS, 165, Vārānasī, 1964), *Kūrma-purāna* (Crit. ed , Vārānasī, 1971), *Linga-purāna* (Calcutta, 1885), *Matsya-purāṇa* (Calcutta, 1876), *Nārada-purāna* (Venk ed , Bombay, 1905), *Padma-purāna* (ĀSS, 131, Poona, 1893-94), *Vāyu-purāna* (Venk ed., Bombay, 1933) etc are the Sanskrit sources for this study The A quotes some passages from those texts, which enlighten various aspects of the Vaisnava-bhakti, see, for instance, the episode of Dandaketu in the 3rd *adhyāya* of the *Viṣnu-māhātmya* of *Nārada-purāna* I, 39, 23-45 (pp 382 and footnotes)

Another paper by S Piano is devoted to the whole *māhātmya* literature,[80] that is to those texts which constitute a large part of the existing puranic works, aiming at glorifying the power of the Sacred in its various manifestations The A disagrees with the statements, which the Histories of Sanskrit Literature usually make, about these texts and, in particular, with the opinion that they glorify "local cults" and have been inserted in the *Mahā-purāna*-s for acquiring prestige and credibility After illustrating the massive presence of *māhātmya*-s in most puranic texts, the A expounds the reasons which induce to consider the *māhātmya*-s themselves relatively old and probably prior to the age in which the individual puranic collections were compiled, then he raises the doubt that the so-called *pañcalakṣana* constitute the original nucleus of the *Purāna*-s, advancing on the contrary the hypothesis that it represents the result of a work of brahmanization intended to give some structure to these "spontaneous collections of old materials" before definitively including them in the *smṛti*. Moreover the A tries to classify the *māhātmya*-s into five groups, explains their literary characteristics and their wealth of narrative material and lastly analyses, as an example, the *Kāśī-māhātmya* of the *Kūrma-purāna* (Crit. ed , I, 29-33)

80. Cf S. PIANO, *Le "celebrazioni" dei luoghi santi nella tradizione religiosa dell' Induismo*, in "Aevum", LIII (1979), fc 2, pp 213-229.

A paper by G Spera deals again with *māhātmya*-s[81] In a wide work presented as graduation thesis in January 1977 and not published yet[82], he examined the various puranic redactions of the *Prayāga-māhātmya*,[83] comparing them with one another and with the versions of the *Mahābhārata* (III, 83, 65-85) and the *Tīrthavivecana-kāṇḍa* In order to accomplish this analysis, Spera had also prepared the Italian translation of the texts which were not yet translated in Western languages, namely of the *Prayāga-māhātmya*-s of the *Padma-* and *Nārada-purāṇa* While nearly all of these texts (and specially those ones of the *Padma-*, *Kūrma-*, and *Matsya-purāṇa*) showed an almost complete coincidence of contents, the *Nārada-purāṇa* version showed distinct and peculiar characteristics. This very considera tion was the cue for his essay, in which textual comparisons were extended not only to other passages of the *Mahābhārata* (I, 19, III, 80, etc), but also to the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* (*adhyāya* 6) and to the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-purāṇa* (*adhyāya*-s 25 and 240) This paper can offer not only a complete picture of the in formations given by the *Mahāpurāṇa*-s on the Tīrtharāja,[84] but also a not negligible contribution to the constitution of a critical text of *Prayāga-māhātmya* As the *Purāṇa-s* are real encyclopaedic collections, there are good reasons for believing that exactly a critical edition of single sections included in more then one collection can shed a new

81 Cf G SPERA, *Some notes on* Prayāga-māhātmya, in IT, V (1977), pp 179-197

82. Cf G. SPERA, *Illustrazione e analisi del Prayāga-māhātmya*, University of Genova, 1977

83. Cf *Padma-purāṇa* (Poona, 1893) I, 40-49, *Nārada-purāṇa* (Bombay, 1905) II, 62-63, *Kūrma-purāṇa* (Crit ed, Vārāṇasi, 1971) I, 34-37, *Matsya-purāṇa* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara ed., Calcutta, 1876) 102-111, *Agni-purāṇa* (Vārāṇasi, 1966) 111

84. Among other contributions about this sacred place let us mention K CHATTOPADHYAYA, *Religious suicide at Prayāga*, in JUPHS, X, 1937, pp 65-79, P K GODE, *The history of the Aksayavata (Undecaying Banyan Tree) at Prayāga and Gayā as revealed by some Sanskrit Texts (between the first Century A D and 1900)*, in "Studies in Indian Cultural History", vol. I (VIS 9), Hoshiarpur, 1961, pp 374-383 (firstly published in ABORI, XXVIII, pp. 82-92), S. G KANTAWALA, *Prayāga Māhātmya A Study*, in "Purāṇa" IX, 1, 1967, pp 103-120, B UPADHYAY, *Prayāga The Capital of the Guptas*, in JBRS, LVII, 1971, pp. 11-20 For G. Bonazzoli's paper see below.

light upon the complex problem of the genesis and tradition of puranic literature.

The Turin school of Indology produced in the same year 1977 the valuable essay of F. Ducrey Giordano on Narasiṃha's iconography, which we have already dealt with.[85]

In the ambit of Italian puranic studies of the seventies, we cannot forget a scholar who is living and working in India since several years : he is Giorgio Bonazzoli, who cooperates to the various enterprises of the All-India Kashi Raj Trust (Benares) and, in particular, to the edition of this Journal. His essays, which are well known to readers of "Purāṇa", reveal not only critical acumen, but also a true affective participation towards the religious tradition of Hinduism.[86] In the first of his papers, devoted to the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*[87], he does not only analyse the summaries the text gives of its own contents, but compares them with the real contents of the work in its present form; this allows him to draw interesting conclusions which can also be a stimulus for further researches. These conclusions concern the dialogical structure of the work (a structure common to the whole puranic literature) and its authors, the interpretation of its title alluding to the manifestation of *Brahman*, the tradition and the evolution of the text in its various compositive stages and finally—what is particularly interesting—the religious purpose for which some *anukramaṇikā-s* would have been composed. The following paper, devoted to the Tīrtharāja and its Kumbhamelā[88] and based on both written and oral sources, gives a precious contribution to the study of the origin and evolution of one of the most important feasts of India. The essay—which could constitute a separate booklet—is divided into two parts, the former being devoted to the informations on Prayāga given by three *nibandha-s (Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and *Tristhalīsetu)* and by

85. See pp. 143f.

86. See 'Purāṇa' XIX, 1, 1977, p. 159, where Bonazzoli affirms that he wants to develop his researches '.... from the point of view of both the scholar and the devotee'.

87. Cf. G. BONAZZOLI, *A General Introduction to the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa : its Anukramaṇikās and their significance*, in 'Purāṇa' XVII, 2, 1975, pp. 118-148.

88. Cf. G. BONAZZOLI, *Prayāga and its Kumbha Melā*, in 'Purāṇa', XIX, I, 1977, pp. 81-179.

the main "celebrations" *(māhātmya-s)* of this *tīrtha* which can be found in the puranic literature, the latter, on the contrary, to a sort of practical guide for pilgrims directed to Prayāga In this section we find the definition of the bounds of the three parts of the holy territory (Prayāgamandala, Prayāga and Triveṇī), the enumeration of the various sub-*tīrtha-s* the pilgrim has to visit inside it, and the illustration of the religious practices which pilgrims have to perform there *(snāna, vrata, śrāddha, pūjā, yajña,* etc) The paper is furnished with useful tables and with an appendix of Sanskrit texts Bonazzoli has also examined puranic texts from the literary point of view[89], discovering in the stories of seduction of the *Brahmavaivarta-purāna* not only the evidence of a literary genre, but also a precise structure of composition This is a not much studied aspect of puranic literature which would by worthy of greater attention Among the most recent studies of Bonazzoli let us mention the note on the term *devīlinga* in the *Padma-purāna, Sṛṣṭi-khanda* 61, 57[90] which seems to be an *apax legomenon* in Sanskrit literature, the essay on the interpretation of *Bhaviṣya-purāna* III, 3, 2, 21-36[91], giving to the A. a chance to make some interesting remarks on the oral and handwritten tradition of this *Purāna*, and lastly a revised and enlarged edition of a paper the A read at the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference in Weimar[92] This article deserves a particular attention for it gives an original contribution to the study of the canon of the 18 *Purāna-s* After pointing out that puranic authors were aware of the instability of the ever changing matter of these texts as well as of their sacredness and authoritativeness, he analizes the puranic attempts to fix a puranic canon According to the A.'s view, we cannot disagree with, "no conclusion should be drawn on the antiquity or authenticity of a *Purāna*" from its fidelity or not to the *pañcalakṣana* definition (p. 131), while other important aspects are to be considered different classifications and *paramparā-s*, lists of 18 titles, number of *śloka-s*, Vyāsa's tradition, *anukramaṇī-s* and so on.

89. Cf G. BONAZZOLI, *Seduction stories in the Brahmavaivarta Purāna (a study in purānic structure)*, in 'Purāna', XIX, 2, 1977, pp. 321-341

90. Cf. G BONAZZOLI, *Devīlinga a note*, in 'Purāna', XX, 1, 1978, pp 121-129

91. Cf. G. BONAZZOLI, *Christ in the Bhaviṣya Purāna*, in 'Purāna', XXI, 1, 1979, pp 23-39.

92. Cf. G. BONAZZOLI, *The Dynamic Canon of the Purānas*, in 'Purāṇa' XXI ,2, 1979, pp 116-166

This original and accurate paper is fitted out with some very useful Tables showing lists of the 18 *Purāna-s* (Table I, A-B-C), numbers of *śloka-s* according to various *Purāna-s* and in actual editions (Table II), contribution of the Vyāsa school to puranic texts (Table III) and puranic concordances in their description of puranic contents with special reference to *Matsya* 53 (equal to *Skanda* VII, 1, 2, 28ff) and *Agni* 272 (Table IV)

On the whole, the work of this scholar who is in constant contact with the living religious tradition of India attests a scientific attitude which is common to the best Italian scholars of the last generation and which aims at interpreting the *smṛti* data on *dharma* with rigorous method but, at the same time, without neglecting the voice of a tradition alive till today. To read and interpret the *Purāna*-s with consciousness of Western scholars, but without neglecting the "point of view" of the Hindū official tradition—in fact trying to find its deepest and truest reasons—seems to us the only method allowing to say a new word (free from both easy enthusiasm and a hypercritical way of thinking conditioned by old prejudices) about the complex problem of tradition and interpretation of puranic texts

Purāna-s are the main source also for an interesting pamphlet by Miss Pinuccia Caracchi[93] devoted to the worship of *mūrti*-s. In her opinion, it would be better not to speak about a worship *of* the *mūrti*, but a worship *into* the *mūrti*, in which the God is drawn by the prayers of the devout. But Coomaraswami and Avalon say that the divinity is not drawn in the *mūrti* as God is everywhere, the worship of the *mūrti*, in any case, is important for the *bhakta* himself, is this interpretation tenable ? The A. discusses the matter with deep accuracy The whole research is supported by Sanskrit quotations from many *Purāna*-s[94] and other

93. Cf P CARACCHI, *La presenza divina nella* mūrti *secondo i* Purāna, Pubblicazioni di 'Indologica Taurinensia', Collana di Letture diretta da Oscar Botto, fc X, Torino, 1978. Miss Caracchi studied in Benares for two years, after obtaining a scholarship from Indian Government Her researches are mainly connected with Indian religious culture.

94. Quotations are from *Viṣnudharmottara Purāna*, Third Khanda, ed. by P. Shah, Baroda, 1958, *Varāha Purāna*, Venk ed , Bombay, 1923, *Bhāgavata Purāna*, Gorakhpur, 1968, *Śiva Purāna*, Venk. ed , Bombay, 1965, *Garuda*

important works[95] The A 's aim is to prove the compatibility between the two aspects of *mūrti* ("abode" and "body" of the God) and the natural superiority of the *mūrti* itself, considered as "living abode of the God" Miss Caracchi examines the development of the conception of *mūrti* in the *Purāṇa*-s and describes the *prāṇa pratisthā*, the various kinds of *nyāsa*, the final vivification of God's image (*sajīvakaraṇa*) and the *āvāhana* She points out that texts are often incomplete with regard to the various ritual formulae in fact the real knowledge of some particular *mantra*-s is secret (p 15) The conclusion are determinant in helping us to better understand the difficult and subtle relationship which binds the God to his *mūrti*.

Let us finally come to a just published book by M Piantelli, Professor of Religions and Philosophies of India in the the Universities of Turin and Venice, testifying the growing attention Italian scholars devote to puranic literature.[96] In this work—furnished with an ample historical-religious Introduction, very rich in textual documentation and bibliography—the text of the *Īśvaragītā* has been reproduced in *devanāgarī* (thanks to the kind concession of His Highness the Mahārāja of Benares) from the critical edition of the *Kūrma-purāṇa* published by the All-India Kashi Raj Trust (1971) The A presents the Italian translation of the text, together with a very wide and detailed commentary In this volume he shows his own deep and learned knowledge of the historical-philosophical tradition of India and, particularly, of Śaivism, it is a

Purāṇa, ed. by R Bhattācārya, Vārānasī, 1964, *Agni Purāṇa*, ed by B Upādhyāya, Vārānasī, 1964, *Liṅga Purāṇa*, ed by Vidyāsāgar Bhattācārya, Calcutta, 1885, *Viṣnu Purāṇa*, Gorakhpur, 1969, *Brhannāradīya Purāṇa*, ed by Hrishikesha Shastri, Vārānasī, 1975[2], *Devī Bhāgavata*, ed. by R. T Pandey, Kāsi, 1969; *Bhavisya Purāṇa*, Venk ed , Bombay, 1959, *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ed by V N Shastri, Vārānasī, 1972, *Matsya Purāṇa*, ed by Vidyāsāgar Bh , Calcutta, 1876, *Padma Purāṇa*, Ānanda Skr. Series, 131, Poona, 1894

95. *Parasaṃhitā*, ed by S K. Aiyangar, Baroda, 1940, *Śukranīti*, ed by B Misra, Vārānasī, 1968, treatises of *karmakānda*, such as *Karmakānda Paddhatih*, ed by G. Datta Śāstrī, Mathurā, no d , etc

96. Cf M. PIANTELLI, *Īśvaragītā o "Poema del Signore"*, with Intr , Transl and notes by... and with a Foreword by S. Piano, Parma, 1980.

work which does not only satisfy scholars but also gives the possibility of popularizing a puranic text of primary importance, thanks to a translation easily comprehensible also by non-specialists. In a *Preface* dealing with puranic literature (pp. 9-20), S. Piano introduces the reader to this fascinating and till now partly unexplored world, giving in a brief synthesis some informations about the genesis, the evolution and the characteristics of puranic texts on the ground of the data which can be found in the texts themselves. This foreword is furnished with a rather complete and exhaustive bibliographical note.

Conclusion

Taken in their complex, Italian puranic studies bear witness to an ever growing interest from scholars in puranic literature, giving a noteworthy contribution to a revaluation of it as an essential means of a correct interpretation of both classical and modern Hinduism. Such studies are getting more and more comparative, in the widest sense of the word, and the basis for research-works on puranic matter is now a unitary conception of *Purāṇa*-s : eighteen *Purāṇa*-s as eighteen sides of an only reality.

That reality is just what scholars of the whole word have now to focalize and illustrate, for perhaps it constitutes the very constant of Indian civilization from time immorial upto nowadays.

Abbreviations

ASS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
DUJ	Dacca University Journal
DUS	Dacca University Studies
EW	East and West
GSAI	Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana
IC	Indian Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IT	Indologica Taurinensia
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research

JUPHS	Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society
KSS	Kashi Sanskrit Series
NIA	New Indian Antiquary
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
RIGI	Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal
VIS	Vishveshvaranand Indological Series
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

रघुवंशमहाकाव्यस्य द्वितीयः सर्गः पद्मपुराणं च— तत्र प्रथमस्य श्लोकस्य तुलनात्मकमनुशीलनम्

By

भगीरथ प्रसाद त्रिपाठी 'वागीशः शास्त्री'

[The comparison between Kālidāsa and Padma Purāna has been variously made by the scholars and many of them have declared the Padma Purāna portions bearing similarity with Kālidāsa posterior to the Great poet Here the learned author has compared the first verse of second canto of the Raghuvaṁśa with the first verse of the chapter containing the story of Dilipa in Uttarakhanda of the Padma Purāna (VI 203. 1) Here the learned author has shown in details the poetic merits and improvements by Kālidāsa]

कोविदेषु महाकविकालिदासस्य पद्मपुराणस्य च पौर्वापर्याविवादः सुस्थिरः। अनेके दोषज्ञा. पद्मपुराणीयान् शकुन्तलीयान् अशान् महाकविकालिदासस्याभिज्ञानशकुन्तलात् समुद्धृता सन्तीति समामनन्ति। तत्र मुख्य कारणं तदशस्य सर्वासु पद्मपुराणमातृकास्वनुपलम्भ. समाख्यायते। किन्तु पद्मपुराणस्य षष्ठोत्तरखण्डे दिलीपविषयिणी या कथा दृश्यते, तत्र पाठभेदार्थमपि तावदनवसरः। केषाञ्चिद् विदुषा मतानुसारेण दिलीपकथांश पद्मपुराणे पश्चात् सनिवेशितः। स च केवल वङ्गदेशे प्रचलितेषु पाठेष्वेव दृश्यते। वस्तुत उभयोर्भाषानुशीलनेन निष्कर्षा निर्धारणीया.। रघुवशमहाकाव्यगतद्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमश्लोकेन सह पद्मपुराणीयप्रथमश्लं कस्य तुलनात्मकमनुशीलनम् इह प्रस्तूयते।

रघुवंश

अथ प्रजानामधिपः प्रभाते जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम्।
वनाय पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्सां यशोधनो धेनुमृषेर्मुमोच॥

अथ यशोधन., प्रजानामधिप प्रभाते जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम् पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्साम् ऋषेर्धेनु वनाय मुमोच इत्यन्वयः।

अथ निशातिक्रमणानन्तरं यशोधनः प्रजानामधिपः = प्रजेश्वरः, प्रभाते = प्रातःकाले, जायया = सुदक्षिणया स्वीकारितगन्धमाल्याम् पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्साम्

ऋषेर्वशिष्ठस्य धेनुम् = नन्दिनी वनाय = वनं प्रति गन्तुं मुमोच = मुक्तवान् इत्यर्थः ।

पद्मपुराणे

अथोषसि नराधीशः पूजिता कुषुमादिभिः ।
महिष्या नन्दिनी धेनुं नीत्वाऽरण्यं जगाम सः ॥ ६, २०३, १

अथ निशातिक्रमणानन्तरं स नराधीशो दिलीपो महिष्या कुषुमादिभिः पूजितां धेनुम् = नन्दिनी नीत्वा = गृहीत्वा, अरण्यं जगाम' इत्यर्थः ।

तुलना

अथ शब्दस्योभयत्र समानस्य पञ्चार्था इमे—१—मङ्गलम्, २—अनन्तरम्, ३—आरम्भः, ४—प्रश्नः, ५—सम्पूर्णता चेति । इह स मङ्गले, अनन्तरे, आरम्भे चेत्यर्थत्रये प्रयुक्तो वर्तते । काव्यस्य प्रमुखकथाऽस्मादेव श्लोकात् समारभ्यते । प्रथमसर्गस्तु पीठिकामात्रम् । फलत 'अथ'—शब्दस्तत्र प्रारम्भार्थको विज्ञातव्य' । ग्रन्थारम्भकाले—(क) आशीर्वाद—(ख) नमस्कार—(ग) वस्तुनिर्देशाना भेदात् त्रेधा मङ्गलमाचरणीय भवति । नमस्कारात्मक मङ्गलं प्रथमसर्गारम्भे समाचरितम् । एतस्मात् कारणाद् द्वितीयसर्गारम्भे 'अथ'—शब्देन निर्दिष्टं मङ्गलं खलु वस्तुनिर्देशात्मकमवगन्तव्यम् । एताभ्या-मर्थाभ्या सार्धमेव 'अथ'—शब्दस्य 'अनन्तरम्' इत्यर्थं खलु विषयसमा-वेशनीय' । मङ्गलारम्भार्थौ विषयसमावेशनीयता न भजेते ।

पूर्ववर्तिविषयपरामर्शापेक्षाया हेतो 'सविष्ट. कुशशयने निशा निनाय' (१,९५) इति निशातिक्रमणरूपविषयपरामर्शेन सार्धम् अथशब्दस्यार्थो भवति—निशातिक्रमणानन्तरमिति ।

'प्रजानामधिप.' इत्यस्य विशेषण 'यशोधन ' इति । नेदं पद पद्मपुराणे प्रयुक्तम् । मल्लिनाथेन कालिदासीयस्य यशोधनपदप्रयोगस्य प्रयोजन पुत्रवत्ता-कीर्तिलोभाद् राजानहें गोरक्षणे प्रवर्तन समुदीरितम् । वस्तुतो यशोधनपदेऽस्मिन्-

ददामि देहमात्मीयम् अपकीर्तिमलीमसम् ।
एवं न धर्महानिः स्याद् ऋषेस्तव तु भोजनम् ॥

इति पद्मपुराणयत्तल्लोकार्थभावना विद्यते । यशोधन इति पद सिंहाक्रान्त-नन्दिन्या: सम्भाव्यनाक्षमभिलक्ष्य दिलीपयशोविगमचिन्ता वस्तुनिर्देशतया प्रकाशयति । 'गोः कोटिशः घटोध्नीः' इत्यस्यानुसारेण दिलीपो गोत्वेन गोधनं नाक्रमच्छति स्म, अपि तु गोरक्षणमेव यशोरक्षणम् अङ्गीचकार । हस्तसस्कौ सत्या गोरक्षणासमर्थ. कर्तव्यपराङ्मुख. सन्नुवाच. दिलीपः पद्मपुराणे—

'दद्मामि देहमात्मीयम् **अपकीर्तिमलीमसम्**' इति । किन्तु दिलीपदेहार्पणानन्तरम् अपकीर्तिमलीमसनिरसनरूप यशोधनपद महाकविकालिदासेन कथारम्भे समुपन्यस्तम् ।

रघुवंशे 'प्रजानामधिप' इति पदम्, पद्मपुराणे तु 'नराधीश' इति । नराधीशपदे न तादृशोऽर्थो न च तादृशी भावनैव, यथा 'प्रजानामधिप' इत्यत्र । नरशब्दस्य प्रजार्थरूढित्वात् तत्र प्रजा प्रति लेशतोऽपि कर्तव्य न सूच्यते । समत्वभावनां नाभिव्यनक्ति बालयुवनारीवृद्धेषु । सन्तनिर्जनश्रेनि प्रजाशब्दस्यार्थद्वयम् । नरनारीशिशुपशुभेदक नेद पदद्वयम् । 'प्रजानाम्' इनि बहुवचनान्त प्रयोगोपि भावमिममेव संकेतयति । लोके लब्धप्रचुरप्रचारोऽपि प्रजाशब्दस्तादृशोऽर्थे, न तु नरशब्द. । प्रजाशब्दस्य सन्ततिमात्रार्थकत्वादेव ब्रह्मा दक्षश्च प्रजापतित्वेन प्रसिद्धौ । सर्पखगादयोपि प्रजापतीना सन्ततय. । तस्मादेव तेषा प्रजापतित्वम् । घटाना निर्मातापि दीपकमल्लकघटादिमृत्पात्राणि निर्माय समत्वभावनया निदधाति तानि । अस्यैव सर्वसमत्वभावस्य प्रकाशनाय महाकविना प्रजाशब्दः प्रयुक्तो न नरशब्द । अधीशापेक्षया खलु 'अधिप.'—शब्द. कर्तव्यपालनमिङ्गति । अधिकारपूर्वक पितृवत् पानि = रक्षनि प्रजा इत्यधिप । दिलीप स्वप्रजा. समानाधिकारेण परिपालयति स्म । नराधीशपदेन बलप्रयोग आविर्भवति ।

रघुवंशे पञ्चमं पद विराजते—'प्रभाते' इति, पद्मपुराणे तु 'उगमि' इति । प्रभातशब्दस्य सक्षेपत एकादशपर्यायो दृश्यन्ते—१—प्रत्यूष, २—अहर्मुखम्, ३—कल्यम्, ४—उषः, ५—प्रत्युष, ६—व्युष्टम्, ७—विभातम्, ८—गोसर्ग, ९—प्रभातम्, १०—प्रगे, ११—प्रातश्चेनि । निशान्तवाचक उपः शब्द, सूर्योदयात् प्रागेव तस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । पञ्चमे यामिनीयामे निशान्ते = उप काले न भवति प्रकाशो यथा प्रभाते । अनो मनुना समाख्यातम्—'निशान्ते न परिश्रान्तो ब्रह्मणोधीत्य पुन. स्वपेत्' इति । मनुवचनेन निशान्ते प्रकाशराहित्य ज्ञायते । उषसि बुद्ध्वा विद्याधिना स्वाध्यायपाराय्णानामपि प्रभातप्रकाशभावात् पुन स्वापप्रसम्भावनामभिलक्ष्य मनुना निषेध कृत —'निशान्तेन परिश्रान्त' इति । महाकवि. प्रभातशब्द प्रयुङ्क्ते, न तु पद्मपुराणवदुष. शब्दम् । सूर्योदयाभावेऽपि प्रभाते प्रकाशो जायते । इत्यमेव वेला खलु गोसर्गतया निगद्यते । अस्मिन् काले गवादीना चन्द्रपशुभ्यो भय न जायते । निशान्ते चतुर्वादनवेलायामुपसि गवा सह वन गन्तुमपि नार्हति दिलीप । प्रात कालिक स्नानादिक्रियानिर्वाहस्तेन समपेक्ष्यते । दिवस वने स्थास्यतीति तेन मनाग् अशनीयमपि किमपि । एतावति काल व्यतीतेऽपि स्थास्यति नाम तत्रोष ? नैव, प्रभातो भविष्यति । महाकविः पद्मपुराणमूलमनुज्झित्वाऽपि वागर्थपूजक सावधानतया प्रयुङ्क्ते वागर्थौ ।

ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

षष्ठं धेनुविशेषणं समस्त पदमस्ति—'जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम्' इति । पद्मपुराणे 'महिष्या कुसुमादिभि पूजिताम्' इत्यभिधाय कृतकृत्यता समाम्नाता । तदपूर्तिनिरसनपूर्वकं चित्रमयं वर्णन प्रस्तौति महाकवि. । तत्र पद्मपुराणवत् मुक्तानि कुसुमानि नोपहृतानि नन्दिन्या. पूजार्थम्, अपि तु माल्यं रचितमासीत् प्रसूनकै । केवल मालैव नार्पिता, अपि तु तत. पूर्वं गन्धोऽपि धूपादिसुगन्धिपदार्थादिरपि समर्पितः । पद्मपुराणे प्रत्यागमनवेलायां पूजाविधेः पूर्णा सामग्री प्रदर्शिता—

चन्दनाक्षतनैवेद्यधूपादीनुपनीय च ॥७
ता पूजयित्वा विधिवत्—
कृत्वा प्रदक्षिण राज्ञी तस्थौ प्राञ्जलिरग्रतः ॥८॥ इति

महाकविना धूपपदाद् गन्धो गृहीत । अक्षतपद 'साक्षतपात्रहस्ता' इत्यग्रे प्रयोगाय मनसि कृतम् । पद्मपुराणस्य 'मगधेशसुतायां मे वशकर्तारमात्मजम्' (६, २०३, ४५) इति 'भविता वंशकर्ता ते सुत शास्त्रास्त्रतत्त्ववित्' इति च श्लोकयोराधारेण महाकविना भाविपुत्रजननयोग्यतानिर्देश प्रथमे श्लोक एव कृतो जायापदसनिवेशपूर्वकम् । पद्मपुराणस्य प्रथमे श्लोके भाविन निर्देशमकृत्वा 'महिष्या' इत्येव निगदितम् । इदं महिषीपद महाकविना 'सभं महिष्या' (२, २५) इति पञ्चविशे श्लोके प्रयुक्तम् । प्रतिग्राहितपदस्य मूलं 'सा गृहीत्वा च ता पूजाम्' इति पद्मपुराणीयनवमे श्लोके दृश्यते । ग्रहणम् = स्वीकारः । नामलिङ्गानुशासनानुसारेण 'प्रतिग्रहशब्दस्यार्थोऽस्ति—'सैन्यपृष्ठे प्रतिग्रहः' (२,२,७९) इति । तस्यैवानुसारेण प्रतिग्राहशब्दार्थ.—'प्रतिग्राहः' पतद्ग्रहः' (२।१।१३९) इति । अमरसिंहेन प्रतिग्रहशब्दस्य स्वीकारोऽर्थ क्वापि न विनिर्दिष्टः । परवर्तिना मेदिनीकारेण तदर्थं प्रतिग्रहशब्दो मत·—

प्रतिग्रहः स्वीकरणे सैन्यपृष्ठे पतद्ग्रहे ।
द्विजेभ्यो विधिवद्देये तद्ग्रहे च ग्रहान्तरे ॥
(शब्दवर्गे हृत्चतुष्के ४१) इति

अमरसिंहात् परवर्ती कालिदासो महाकविरिति नानेन शक्यते निर्धारयितुम् । मनुस्मृतावनेकत्र स्वीकारार्थं प्रयोगा· सन्ति प्रतिग्रहशब्दस्य—'प्रतिगृह्योक्षित दण्डम्' (२,४८।, 'प्रतिगृह्य द्विजो विद्वान्' (४,११०) 'प्रतिग्रहः प्रत्यवरः' (१०,१०९) इति ।

संक्षेपत· ऊरीकृतम्, उररीकृतम्, अङ्गीकृतम्, आश्रुतम्, संश्रुतम्, प्रतिज्ञातम् इत्यादयः पर्याया स्वीकृतशब्दस्य । यद्यपि 'जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम्' इत्यस्य स्थाने 'जायाप्रतिज्ञापितगन्धमाल्याम्' इति लेखितुं शक्यते स्म, तथापि प्रतिज्ञापितशब्देन नासौ भावः, न च तादृशं चित्रणोपस्थापन शक्यते कर्तुम्, यादृक् प्रतिग्राहितशब्देन । ग्रहः = ग्रहणम्, प्रति = प्रतिगम्य

स्वस्य वस्तुनो ग्रहणे प्रतिग्रहशब्दतात्पर्यं नास्ति । प्रतिग्रहे हस्तद्वययोगः स्पष्टमनुभूयते । प्रथमतो ग्रहः = ग्रहणम्, यत्र दात्रा स्वय गृह्यते पूर्वम् । परतश्च स समर्पणबुद्धया तद् गृहीत वस्तु प्रयच्छति । प्रतिज्ञातशब्देन नेदृशो व्यज्यते भाव. सुदक्षिणया पूर्वमुत्थापिते गृहीते वा, परतश्च समर्पिते गन्धमाल्ये—इति न्यायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्यार्थः ।

सप्तम समस्त पद धेनोर्द्वितीयं विशेषणम्—'पीतप्रनिवद्धवत्साम्' इति वर्तकास्ति । पद्मपुराणे दिलीपकथाप्रसङ्गे केवलम् एकस्मिन् स्थले धेनुवत्समुल्लेखो वर्तते । प्रारम्भे 'नन्दिनी धेनुम्' इत्युक्त्वा सवत्सा नवसूतिका गौ: प्रकीर्तिता । एतदर्थं तत्र धेनुपदं नन्दिन्या विशेषणतया प्रयुक्तम् । सिंहदिलीपसंभाषणप्रक्रमे पद्मपुराणे सकरुणा दिलीपोक्तिरियम्—'लघुनर्णकमातेय धृता ते गिरिकन्दरे' (६,२०३,३४) इति । महाकविना तु प्रथमश्लोक एव पूर्णपरिचयार्थम्, चित्रोपस्थापनार्थं च दोहनवेलावृक्ष्योपस्थापनपूर्वकमुल्लेखि—'पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्साम्, इति । इतोऽप्यग्रे वत्सोत्सुकापि (२,२२), 'दिनावसानोत्सुकबालवत्सा' (२,४५), 'वत्सस्य होमार्थविधेश्च शेषम्' (२,६६), 'वत्सस्नेहा वत्सहुतावशेषम्' (२,६९), 'धेनुं सवत्साम्' (२,७१) इत्यादिषु स्थलेषु पञ्चकृत्वो वत्ससमुल्लेखपूर्वक प्रसङ्गो निर्भरं रोचकता वत्सलता चोपानीतः ।

अष्टम पदमस्ति—'ऋषे.' इति । पद्मपुराणस्य प्रथमे श्लोके पदमिद नोपात्तम् । चतुर्थे श्लोके तु 'कामधेनु गुरोरेवमसेवत' (६,२०३,४) इत्येव समुल्लिख्यते । महाकविनाऽपि प्रथमश्लोक विहाय वसिष्ठो बहुत्र गुरुपदप्रयोगपूर्वकमुल्लिखित —'गुरोः सदारस्य' (२,२३), 'गुरोर्भवान्' (२,४०), 'गुरोरपीद धनमाहितान्ने.' (२,४४), 'अथैकधेनोरपराधचण्डाद् गुरोः' (२,४९), 'भक्त्वा गुरौ' (२,६३), 'गुरवे निवेद्य' (२,६८) इति । ऋषिणा दिलीपो गोसेवार्थं दृढमाज्ञापित.—'आराधय सपत्नीक प्रीता कामदुघा हि सा' (१,८१) इति । दृढतापूर्वकमुक्तेन वचनेनानेन सत्येन भवितव्यमेवाऽसीत् । सत्यवचना ऋषय. (अ० को० २,७,७३) । एतदर्थं महाकविना प्रथमे श्लोके ऋषिपद प्रयुक्तम् । यत्र यत्र महाकविना दृढवचनम् अभिप्रेतम्, तत्र तत्र वसिष्ठ ऋषिपदेन, महर्षिपदेन वा समुल्लिखित —'ऋषेरनुज्ञामधिगम्य मातः' (२,६६), 'धेनुरियम्महर्षे.' (२,४५), 'कथं न शक्योऽनुनयो महर्षे.' (२,५४), 'ऋषिप्रभावान्मयि नान्तकोऽपि' (२,६२) । गुरुशब्दमनेकार्थकं विभाव्य प्रारम्भ एव तत्प्रयोगो नोचितो मनो महाकविना । अनन्तरं गुरुपदेन सर्वत्र ऋषेर्ग्रहणं स्वाभाविकम् । महाकविना त्रिषु स्थलेषु (२,१५,५५;२६) वसिष्ठार्थे मुनिपदमपि प्रयुक्तम् । मुनेरप्यर्थद्वयम्—बुद्धो वाचंयमश्चेति । अतोपि प्रारम्भिके श्लोके मुनिपद न प्रयुक्तं रघुवंशमहाकाव्यस्य द्वितीये सर्गे । ऋषिस्थाने यद्यपि गुरुमुन्योरन्यतरप्रयोगेण

छन्दोभङ्गः समुपतिष्ठते, तथापि तद्भिया नान्यतरप्रयोगः कृत इति वक्तुं न शक्यते। उद्देश्यमिदमभिलक्ष्य कृताया रचनाया श्लोकस्वरूपं नूनं भिन्नतामापद्येत्।

नवम पदमस्ति—धेनुम् इति। धेनुः = नवसूतिका। पद्मपुराण धेनुशब्दो नन्दिन्या विशेषणतया प्रयुक्तः। रघुवंशे धेनुरेवोद्देश्यतया (विशेष्यतया) गृहीतः। यद्यपि 'पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्साम्' इत्यनेनैव धेनुत्व गतार्थम् इति धेनुस्थाने महाकविना 'नन्दिनीम्' इति लेखनीयमासीत्, तथापि 'पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्साम्' इत्यनेन नवप्रसूता गौर्न बुध्यते। नवप्रसूता गौर्वत्से भृश स्निह्यति। सा तं विहाय शष्पभक्षणार्थं वनमपि सुख गन्तु नेहते। वनात् प्रत्यागमनवेलाया गेहनिकटमागता धावमाना प्रविशति। मध्ये तदवरोधो दुश्शक। वत्सस्यापीयमेव दशा भवति। अस्या स्थितौ सुदक्षिणया मध्येमार्गं पूजार्थं रुद्धाया अपि सरलतस्या धेन्वा पूजाग्रहण दम्पती प्रति प्रसादाधिक्यं सूचयति। सिंहसमाक्रान्तायाः सबन्धे सिंह प्रति दिलीपकृतो धेनुशब्दप्रयोगो हठाद् गोवत्सयोस्तदनुरागाधिक्य चित्रयति सामाजिकसमुखे। स काव्यस्थले प्राणान् सचारयति। नन्दिनीपद तत्र न तथोपयुक्त स्यात्। तस्मात् महाकविना सम्पूर्णे सर्गे भूरिशो धेनुपदं प्रयुक्तम्— व्रताय तेनानुचरेण धेनोः (२,४), मुनेश्च धेनु. (२,१५), गृष्टिः (२,१८), वसिष्ठधेनोः (२,१९), विरराज धेनुः (२,२०), मुनिहोमधेनु. (२,२६), निगृहीतधेनु (२,३३), धेनुरियं महर्षे (२,४५), अथैकधेनोः' (२,४९), धेन्वा तदध्यासितकातराक्ष्या (२,५२), 'धेनु सवत्साम्' (२,७१) चेति। नवप्रसूतात्वनिर्देशार्थमेव गृष्टिशब्दोपि प्रयुक्तः। सिंहसम्भाषणप्रक्रमे सर्वत्र धेनुशब्दो व्यवहृत इति विमर्शनीय सुधीभिः। शक्तिप्रकाशार्थं केवलमेकत्र 'अनूना सुरभेः' (२,५८) इति प्रयुक्तम्। जननीसादृश्यप्रदर्शनार्थं 'गामग्रत. प्रस्रविणीम्' (२,६१) इत्यत्र प्रस्रविणीपदम्। प्रसादे सति 'नन्दिनी' (२,६१) इति पद प्रयुक्तम्। इतोऽतिरिक्ताः 'सौरभेयीम्' (२।३) 'कामदुघाम्' (२,६३), पयस्विनीम् (२,२१), पयस्विनी (२,६५), दोग्ध्रीम् (२,२३), गवि (२,२९) चेति शब्दा अपि यथाभाव रघुवंशे व्यवहृता. सन्ति।

उपोत्तम पदमस्ति—'वनाय' इति, चरम च 'मुमोच' इति। पद्मपुराणे तु 'नीत्वाऽरण्यं जगाम' इति प्रयुक्तम्। महाकवे. 'वनाय मुमोच' इति पदद्वयं नूनं विशिष्यते ह्रस्वकाय बह्वर्थकम्। पदयोरनयोर्मध्ये 'गन्तुम्' इति पदं लुप्तम्। अस्य कर्मणि वने 'क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः' इति पाणिनीयेन सूत्रेण चतुर्थी विभक्तिरापादिता। अर्थकाले तु 'वनाय = वन गन्तुं मुमोच' इत्ययमर्थ एव निर्धारणीयो भवति। अयं वाग्योगः = वाक्शैली महाकवेः।

पौराणिकी शैली महाकविना सालङ्कारं समुपस्थापिता। इदमेव तदीय महाकवित्वम्। पद्मपुराणस्य 'नीत्वाऽरण्यं जगाम स.' इति पदसमूहो न चमत्कारिकः। 'नीत्वा = हस्ते गृहीत्वा, अरण्य जगाम' इति तदर्थः। इह नीत्वेति पदं सर्वथा वैरस्यजनकम्। क्व नन्दिन्याः स्वच्छन्दविचरणम्, क्व च तस्या नयनम् !!!

पद्मपुराणीया दिलीपकथा नून रघुवंशोपजीव्या। अपरिष्कृता, अव्यवस्थिता काव्यरहिता च सा महाकविलेखन्या परिष्कृता, व्यवस्थिता काव्यमयी ललितललिता विन्यस्ता।

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By

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[अस्मिन् निबन्धे 'पाटन, अनिहलवाडा' नगरे चालुक्यवशीयप्रथित-राज्ञा जयसिंहेन निर्मितस्य परिवर्धितस्य वा सहस्रलिङ्गसरसो विवरण प्रस्तुतम्। अस्य सरस प्राचीनतम विवरण हेमचन्द्रस्य 'द्वयाश्रयकाव्ये' प्राप्यते। अस्य सरोवरस्य प्रशस्ति. सिद्धराजजयसिंहस्य राज्यकविना श्रीपालेन रचिताऽऽसीत् यस्या निर्देशो मेरुतुङ्गाचार्यकृतप्रबन्ध-चिन्तामणौ प्राप्यते। अस्य सरसस्तटेषु सहस्रशिवलिङ्गाना सद्भावादस्य सहस्रलिङ्गसर इति नामकरणम्। अत्र उभाभ्या लेखकाभ्या प्रमाणपुर-स्सर प्रतिपादित यज्जलसग्रहस्य एष अपूर्व प्रयास आसीत्। सभाव्यते यत् प्रथमत इद सरः लघु आसीदनन्तर विस्तृतीकृतम्। अस्य सरस· सबन्धो नद्या आसीद् यस्या जलेन इद सदैव पूरितमासीत्। अस्य सरस· सरक्षणस्य प्रयास प्रायो षट् शतवर्ष यावद् अक्षुण्ण आसीत्। राजनीतिकदुरवस्याया. कारणेन अथवा स्वार्थवशाद् अस्य सरक्षणे प्रयासशैथिल्य जात सरश्च लुप्तम्। लेखकाभ्या विविधसाक्ष्यैरेतत्प्रति-पादितम्।]

In the annals of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarat, Siddharaja Jayasimha is reputed to have constrvcted or renovated *Sahasralinga Talāva* at his capital city, *Anhilwāda Pātana*. This tank has been referred to by different authors from *Pātana* as well as from other areas.

The earliest reference to this tank, and the institutions around it is found in the *Dvyāśraya Kāvya* of *Hemacandra*, the well known Jain *Ācārya* of the 12th Century A D [1]

Fortunately an incomplete inscription is discovered from a Śiva temple in the *Vṛala Kuā* street of *Pātana* and is edited by Shri R. C. Mody of *Pātana* [2] The inscription preserves the verses nos. 76, 77, 79, 90. This indicates that it is a part of a larger work. A *śloka* after 79 notes '... तदा जज्ञे भगीरथस्य त्रिदशापगेव तत सा पूरदामास सरः सिद्धेश कारितं .'

1. Hemacandrācārya, '*Dvayāśraya Kāvya*' Sarga 15, ślokas 18-36, 97-115

2. R. C. Modi, *Lekha Samgraha*, Vol. 1, p. 92 ff.

It indicates that the tank was possibly made by *Siddheśa*. The other terms for this ruler in the inscription are *Siddhanarendra* and *Siddharāja*. These writings point to the fact that the tank was constructed by *Siddharāja*.

Śrīpāla, a poet in the court of *Siddharāja* had composed a *Praśasti* of *Sahasraliṅga* tank according to Merutuṅga the author of *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*.[3] This reference of 1305 A. D., seems to indicate the existence of a *Praśasti* of Śrīpāla. The existence of the inscription is a tempting relic for identifying its author as Śrīpāla. But the fragmentary nature of the inscription leaves out the name of the author, so the tempting identification could be considered only tentative and the question be left open for further research.

On the bank of the tank, there was a *Kīrtistambha*. Someśvara in his *Kīrtikaumudi*, a work of the 13th Century A. D. notes in *Sarga* 1.72 the tank as

यस्मिन्सरो हरोपेन्द्रप्रासादैः परितश्चितम् ।
आमुक्तमौक्तिकं भूमेर्भाल्येकमिव कुण्डलम् ॥

He also describes the *toraṇa*.

The tank is noted by Bālachandrasūri[4] as a *Valaya* in *Vasanta Vilāsa*. *Samara Rāsu*[5] notes it as a *Kuṇḍala* of *Pṛthvī* and *Rājaśekhara*[6] in his commentary on *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* notes a stanza from *Jayamaṅgalasuri* in which the tank is described as a gourd and the *toraṇa* as the bar of *Vīṇā*.

Sarasvatī Purāṇa[7], a local *purāṇa*, describes the area around *Pāṭaṇa* carefully. It also describes the channels, silting chambers, the three inlet sluices as well as the *tīrthās* on the bank of the tank. Besides these details it notes that *Siddharāja* got an earlier tank *Durlabhasara* repaired.

Interestingly, the thought of the dry bed of the tank has been deeply rooted in the local traditions. The dryness is ascribed to the curse of a digger *Jasmā Odaṇa*. An effort to fill this tank, in these

3. Merutungācārya, *Prabandhacintāmaṇī*, III, 19, 33.
4. Bālacandrasūri, *Vasantavilāsa*, Dalal C. D. (ed.), G. O. S. No. 7, Sarga II, *ślokas* 46-47.
5. Dalal C. D. (ed.), *Samararāsu*, G. O. S., No. XIII, p. 29.
6. As quoted by R. C. Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
7. Dave K. B. (ed.), *Sarasavatī Purāṇa*, Sarga 15, 16.

traditions indicate a human sacrifice These local folk traditions are, however, not borne out by evidences.

The flourishing condition of the tank could be indicated in the 15th/16th centuries At this time *Vallabhācāryajī* came to *Pāṭana* and visited the tank This tank contained water till at least January 31, 1561 A. D. when according to Ain-e-Akbarī[8] Behramkhan was killed while alighting on the bank of this tank after a ride in a boat All these evidences clearly indicate that the knowledge of this tank was existing in Gujarat Due to this feature when the European scholars started searching Western India, the area was pointed out as existing in the North-West of *Pāṭana*. It was thus noted by colonel Tod[9] as well as by Burgess[10] However, Colonel Tod mixes up the story of *Jasmā Odana* with that of Khan Sarovara

Burgess and Cousens, however, describe the tank as follows . 'One of the largest of this was the *Sahasralinga Talāv* or tank of thousand *Śaiva* shrines at *Pāṭana*, the remains of which are still pointed out to the north-west of the town. It must have been a reservoir of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous little temples containing *lingas* placed on the steps around it In the centre it was an island on which stood the temple of *Rudreśvara* destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauza on its ruins, but of this only dilapidated remains now exist '

'The basin of the tank is now converted into tilled fields The great embankment surrounding it appears to be composed throughout of solid brick work, and this was once faced with stone masonry forming flight of steps to the waters' edge On and above these steps stood the thousand shrines of which fragmentary remains are still found buried in the debris of the embankment.'

Even though *Sahasralinga* was thus known, it became dry All its system, except the earth work was buried under the sand blown from the same *Sarasvatī* that had filled it once with water These changes had obliterated many aspects of the tank, so efforts by

8. Abul Fazlallāmī, '*The Aīn-i-Akbarī*' translated by H Blochmann, 1977, Calcutta, p 332.
9. Colonel Tod, *Travels in Western India*, Delhi. 1971 (new print), p. 157.
10. Burgess and Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, p 38

modern scholars were necessary to understand the nature of this tank These efforts took two divergent lines. One was based on tradition and literature and the other was based on the actual study of the material relics

The first line was taken up by scholars like K B Dave and R. C Mody and K M Munshi from 1932 A D Their efforts were directed to the study of the shape, the *tīrthas* on the tank etc Useful work was done by Shri K. B Dave and R C Mody who identified many *tīrthas* as noted in the *Sarasvatī Purāna* The later even produced a sketch map based on the literary records These were interesting essays which produced some literature

However from 1916 A D the plans to excavate here were existing Only in the year 1936 this work was undertaken by Dr Hiranand Śāstrī [11] This work continued in the succeeding years This resulted in opening of the entry channel, silting chamber, parts of the embankment and a bridge leading in the tank These water works were identified as belonging to the period of *Siddharāja Jayasiṁha* Though sporadic work continued upto 1952 A D detailed reports about the results achieved are not available.

Apparently Dr Hiranand Śāstrī knew the literary efforts and hence he could suggest the identification of the temple of *Vindhyavāsinī Devī* but he did not pursue this line of study

These were important efforts, but they could not answer many questions of chronology, changes in the construction etc , so with a view to understand the size of the tank, features of its construction and activities around the tank as well as its shape, careful explorations were conducted with some excavations in the year 1979 in the general programme of studying the archaeology of *Pātana*

Situation

As already noted, *Sahasraliṅga Talāva* occupies the north western part of new *Pātana*. Its position is near the *Rājagadhī* area. The tank is marked by a series of mounds showing its shape These mounds show that with the passage of time they were getting destroyed by men, eroded by nature and even strengthened by the

11 Shāstrī Hirananda. *Annual Reports of the Department of Archaeology*, Baroda State, 1936-37, 1937-38

human effort. In this effort many interesting changes also seem to have taken place

Human destruction

The damage and destruction has taken two forms. One of them is affected in the past and the other is still continuing. The old destruction was aimed at demolition of the religious monuments and possibly the institutions round the tank. It led to the disappearance of the grandeur as well as many images and engraved objects depicting life Many of these lie scattered in the area. They are often used out of context or merely lie scattered at different places.

The new destruction is more utilitarian It is undertaken to take away stones, to remove bricks and consequently to destroy the relics. It is aimed at making railway lines, cutting down the earth work for making roads and levelling the earth work for turning it into the fields. This exploitation does not spare civil or religious antiquities and is more systematic Helped by modern machines of transport and digging, they have played havoc on a much larger scale This destruction is carried out by modern society to get cheap building materials, road ballast etc No inhibition is seen while carrying out this vandalism on a magnificent scale, that puts the earlier destruction to shame

Natural destruction

Natural destruction of the earth work takes the form of erosional gulleys on the sandy earth banks It is highly instructive to find the deep chasms developed on both sides of the earth work This slow process has washed out a large part of sides and changed their appearance.

The other destructive element is the blowing sand. It has settled over the tank. The local water action combined with the wind action have already buried the old tank and even the old land surface near the river.

This action is so powerful that possibly after the seventeenth century, the tank lost its character by silting and wind borne sand, so only the high banks could survive and the filled up tank bed could be used as fields.

Human effort at Restoration

The destructive role of the human hand has already been noted But a survey of the tank indicates immense human effort to preserve the tank in active condition The water channels and the embankment bear mute testimony to this herculean effort. In this process the modern activity of Archaeological Survey of India to preserve the area is worth noting

Area (Fig 1)

The tank was described as large, *Mahāsāra* etc., but its floor area was not determined, nor the earth works were properly mapped It is seen that the earth works circumscribe an area of about three kilometers, and indicates a breadth of about a kilometer This measurement when compared to that of Vadnagar and calculated on Indian standard present at the time of its construction indicate that the tank was of the *Vyāsa* of a *Kośa*.

In its correct centre the earth work of *Bahasthala* is observed The survey of these features permit the calculation of the area of the pentagon as about 17 hectares on the inner side

Depth

The depth of the tank is an interesting feature. A study of the structural features of the exposed bridge, the ledge of the platform in the tank indicate that the tank would contain the water column of about 2.5 meters If this is assumed to be the general depth of the tank it would contain about 42,06,500 cu meters of water when the tank would be full The excess water woud be taken out by the waste weir

Earth works (Fig 2)

The earth works circumscribing this area are wide and indicate the trapezoidal form At the base it is about 90 meters broad. The top is levelled. But these earth works indicate that they were repaired from time to time An analysis of these earthworks points to the following features, specially on the western side of the channel

It is observed that black clay is superimposed on the earth work for the height of about two meters. This feature raises an important question about the availability of the black clay

It is common knowledge that in Gujarat, black clay develops in the area of good rainfall or in water logged places. In *Patan*,

the latter situation prevails and hence the black clay is indicative of desilting of the tank

When this tank was desilted, the earth work was lower than the present height This situation clearly indicates the presence of an earth work, the effort at desilting and increase of the height. Above this level there is also another effort at increasing it This phenomenon is highly interesting for chronological and interpretative considerations The other phenomenon on the work is the presence of monuments that are indicative of later use

Monument on Earth works

The monuments that are traced on the earth work fall into two categories. These are the scattered stones and the funerary monuments, and constructions of brick and earth

Scattered Stones

These stones are strewn on the north eastern side of the earth work These are rectangular, circular sand stone pieces Some of them show the old sculptural details, that are broken and the others with chisel marks, indicate the removal of all decorations They lie at different places on the earth work They seem to represent old architectural pieces that were trimmed for use at a later date, but they were not removed from the site.

The other type of scatter is the remains of religious structures in the form of broken images, parts of *Śikharas*, etc. They are also the relics of the bygone age

Funerary monuments (Fig 3)

The other relics on the earth work are the graves and mausoleums. The graves are represented on the north-western and western side of the earth work Many of these graves show brick work using a variety of bricks, brick bats, etc

The mausoleum of Saiyad Hasan and one brick mausoleum to its south are large ones. The former is in a large compound. In it much marble is lying Some finely decorated pillars with god desses, *āmalakas* and others indicate at least two phases of religious activity.

It is also interesting to note that they are seen at two different levels on the earth work. These features require careful consideration for chronology.

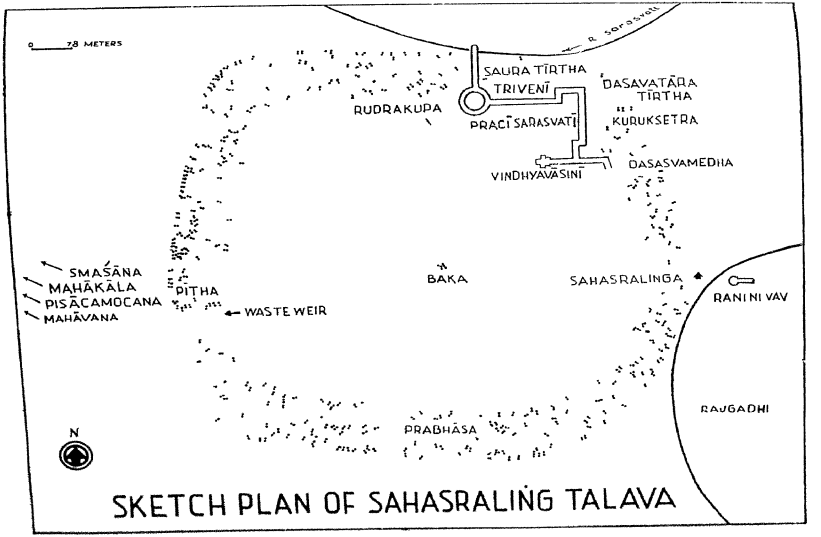

0 78 METERS
R. Sarasvati
SAURA TĪRTHA
TRIVENĪ
DASAVATĀRA TĪRTHA
RUDRAKUPA
PRĀCĪ SARASVATĪ
KURUKSETRA
VINDHYAVĀSINĪ
DASAŚVAMEDHA
SMAŚĀNA
MAHĀKĀLA
PIŚĀCAMOCANA
MAHĀVANA
PĪṬHA
WASTE WEIR
BAKA
SAHASRALINGA
RANI NI VAV
RAUGADHI
PRABHĀSA
N
SKETCH PLAN OF SAHASRALIṄG TALAVA

Fig 1



Fig. 2

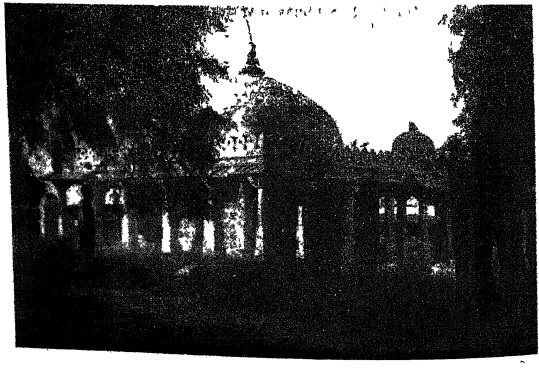


Fig 3

Bakasthāna (Fig 4)

In the centre of the tank there is a large earth heap. This is the *Bakasthāna* On it, on a raised platform, a *Rauza* was built It is an octagonal structure of *lakhori* bricks On its west side the remains possibly of a mosque are observed. It would be an interesting point to know the monuments below it In the local tradition it is referred to as *Rani-no-Mahal* Colonel Tod refers to it as the palace of *Siddharāja* It was assumed to be a temple of Śiva or a goddess, but no remains of architectural fragments of a temple were visible. A few images lying here seem to have been brought at a later date, so the problem of earlier structures would require an excavation to solve it

Entry of Water (Fig 5, 6, 7)

The most important relics of the tank that were excavated by Dr. Hiranand Śāstrī were the channels, well, steps and side protection of the tank and a bridge The channels are highly interesting A long channel of 95 meters length and 5 meters breadth was traced from the *Saraswati* to the tank This channel running from the north to the south connected the tank with the source of water The levels indicate that from the base of the river, the southern point of the channel is about 1 20 meters low. This would permit good flow of water On the southern end of this channel a circular well was discovered. This circular well of about 48 meters in diameter was dug to a depth of more than two meters below the base of the channel An opening on the eastern side of this well connected it with another channel running on the east for a distance of 145 meters Here three circular sluices of 1 5 diameter were provided at the height of 6 meters from the base of the channel The water entered the tank from these three sluices and filled up the tank.

The sides of the tank are made solid with brick work and they are further strengthened by stone facing, which is seen in several steps. This stone work moves to the north from the sluices to a distance of 22.20 meters From this point it turns to the east for a distance of 56 meters and after running for a distance of 95 meters it develops a platform Almost in the centre of this side is a *ghāṭa* with flight of steps and a door-frame on its north. This door-frame has an Arabic inscription on its lintel (Fig 8)

From the western edge of the platform a bridge 3 40 wide runs in the tank for a distance of 53.60 where a platform 15 60 × 14 80 is built. It is provided with steps for reaching the water. The southern side of the main platform extends to the east for a distance of 66 50 and takes an obtuse angled turn to the south for 7 40 meters. This angle measures about 108°

Efforts to trace the embankment on south and west by trial pits indicate that it was an extensive work, but its complete opening is a very costly and time consuming work

Waste Weir Channel (Fig 9)

On the western side, however near the mausoleum of Saiyad Hasan, evidences of the waste weir channel exist Its sides show architectural fragments attached to the wall This channel is 18 meters broad and is clearly visible upto a length of 28 meters.

The western side of this channel is filled up But the depression that carries the rain water from this area seem to follow the old channel that opened in the *Sarasvatī*

Shape

All these observations are highly interesting for determining the shape of the tank The earlier authors considered it to be circular as already noted above The modern writers, specially R C Mody thought that it is rectangular. This was a good observation However, the excavations show an obtuse angle on the east. Evidently this observation required aa explanation. Dr Hiranand Śāstri thought that the angle might have been the result of some earthquake. The obtuse angle is of 108° and does not indicate any dislocation of the features. This angle on all sides of the tank would make it a pentangular one R C. Mody had already observed the angular nature of the tank The disposition of mounds seem to confirm this feature, when seen from the inner side This situation indicates the original shape and points to the construction that is followed in several public works for water and irrigation. However, to a casual observer, the angles appear to be rounded so the tank looks circular Such observations of the circular sides prompted the earlier authors to compare it with a *valaya* or a gourd The excavations also indicate that the side of the earth work was provided with stone facing. Steps and entrance doors were provided possibly by the side of a *ghāṭa* in the north-eastern

side of the earth work. However, all these observations raise the problems of correlation with literature and chronology.

Correlation with literature

The existing literature only refers to the tank in eulogising terms The problem of shape has already been discussed, but the correlation with *Sarasvatī Purāna* is highly interesting, as it describes *Sahasralinga Sarasvatī Purāna* in its 15th and 16th *Sarga* describes this tank. Its description deals with two features One of the is the constructional aspect and the other deals with the Enough evidence exists to compare the former with the existing remains Out of the description, *Rudrakūpa* has been ably identified by A S Gadre.[12] Shri R C. Mody tried it but the excavations were not conducted so his identification needs correction Similar is the case with the work of Shri K. B Dave The latter author, however, has rendered useful service by ably editing those parts of *Purāna* that were historically very important The present study is based on his edition and field-work The relevant constructional efforts are noted as follows

एकदा पार्थिवेन्द्रोऽसौ निशि सुप्तोत्थित सुखम् ।
सस्मार स सरस्तच्च जलहीन स्वके पुरे ॥१५,१०२

यत्सरो नगराभ्यासे उत्तरस्या दिशि स्थितम् ।
कृत दुर्लभराजेन जलपूर्ण कथ भवेत् ॥१५.१०३

पश्चिमाभिमुखीभूता यत्र देवी सरस्वती ।
दक्षिणाभिमुखी जाता सिद्धराजसरोवरे ॥१५.२०.३

विष्णुयाना दक्षिणत: सरस्वत्या व्यवस्थितम् ।
रुद्रकूपमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थ सर्वकामदम् ॥१५ ४०६

ततस्तस्माद्रुद्रकूपात् प्राची भूत्वा सरस्वती ।
प्रसन्ना सा स्मरद्गङ्गा यमुना च महानदी ॥१६.१

स्मृते मात्रे तया सख्यौ प्रीत्या तत्र समागते ।
ताभ्या च सहिता देवी प्रविष्टा तत्सरोवरम् ॥१६ २

These stanzas clearly indicate that there was a dry tank built by *Durlabharāja* (1010 A D -1022 A D) on the north of the town *Siddharāja* wanted to fill it with water. Where *Sarasvatī* was flowing

12 Gadre A. S., *Archaeology in Baroda* (1931-1947), p 8

in the west, it was turned to the south The passage from the turn to the silting chamber is called *Viṣnuyāna* Significantly a black stone image of standing *Viṣnu* was obtained while repairing Sheikh Farid's tomb This seems to be the place from where a channel was excavated The channel covered the passage of the river This is reflected in the term *Viṣnu* which is all pervading and by extension of the meaning it will possibly mean a channel that pervades and controls the flow

The term *yāna* would mean a route or vehicle, so *Viṣnuyāna* here would signify the route of the flow of *Sarasvatī* from its bed to the silting chamber. At the southern end of this *Viṣnuyāna* was the *Rudrakūpa* From the *Rudrakūpa Sarasvatī* turned to the east She remembered her two friends *Gangā* and *Yamunā* and all three entered the tank. The description accurately notes the northern (*Viṣnuyāna*) and eastern (*Prācī Sarasvatī*) channels, the silting chamber (*Rudrakūpa*) and the three sluices (*Venī*) This significant fact indicates that the author was an eye-witness who had seen the construction The descriptions would help to name the channels and sluices The other part of the description in *Sarasvatī Purāna* describes the *tīrthas* Most of them are non-existant and hence it is difficult to comment on this aspect However, the *Purāna* describes on the west a forest This seems to be an accurate description of the west where open stretch of the land devoid of any archaeological relics spreads upto the *Sarasvatī*

Interestingly in *Pātana* a tradition of placing the image of *Śeṣaśāyī Viṣnu* below the water level is seen in *Rānī Udayamatī*'s step-well and the *kunda* at *Hariharesvara Mahādeva* This tradition when applied to the tank indicates that the *Jalaśāyī* might probably follow the tradition, possibly near the *Venī*. On the north was a *Saura tīrtha* This would indicate a sun temple on the northern embankment of *Sahasralinga* In front of it or on its east was a *Daśāvatāra tīrtha* The *Kurukṣetra* is rather uncertain but seems to be a place near the *Daśāvatāra tīrtha*. Possibly near it was a *Ghāta* which would have been interpreted as *Daśāśvamedha tīrtha*

The *Sahasralinga* is recently interpreted as small temples of *Śiva*. But the description of large temple in literature and traditions of making *Sahasralingas* by small *lingas* put together or many *lingas* represented on one *linga* require consideration. At Patan in *Hinglāja mātā* temple the tradition of *Sahasralinga* exists If this



Fig. 4

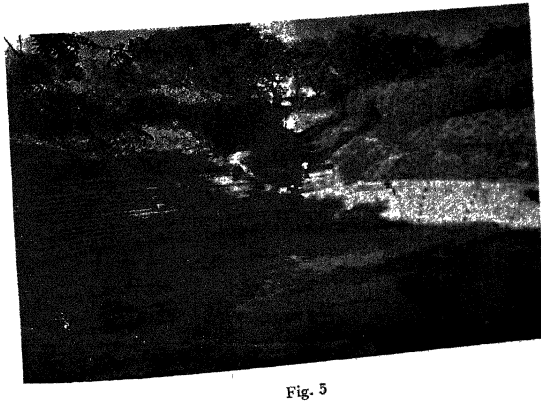


Fig. 5

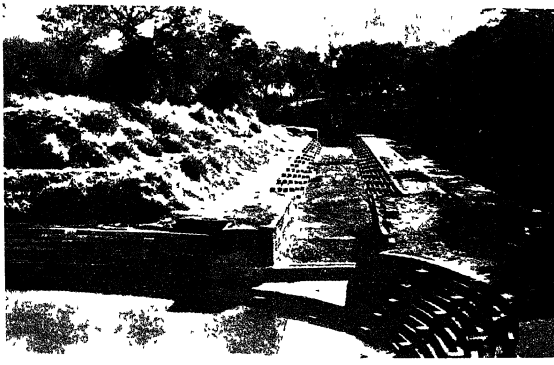


Fig. 6

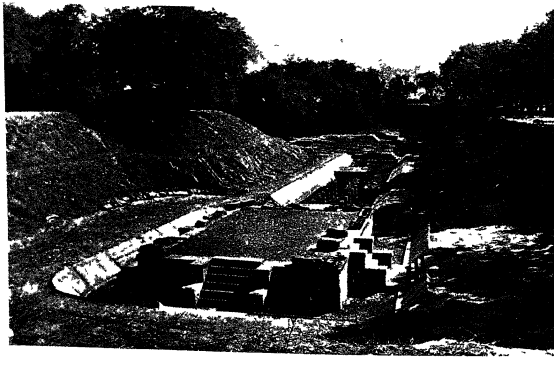


Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig. 9

Fig 10

be an indication it will point to one temple with *Sahasralingas* established in it The other tradition of a single *linga* with representation of a thousand *lingas* on its shaft is found near *Rsikeśa* temple at *Pātana* (Fig. 10).

Evidences of a large *Śiva* temple exist at the base of *Rājagadhi* near its north western corner and to the south of the Railway line The remains with marble sculptures, sand-stone pillars with *Śaiva* deities indicate its grandeur This temple could have easily housed the *Sahasralinga Śiva* The vicinity of the palace, the tradition about the *Sahasralingas* and the size of the temple are indicative of the possiblity of its identification as *Sahasralinga temple*. The *Sarasvatī Purāna* places it after the *Daśāśvamedha* This seems to give further support to this identification However, this does not mean that other temples of *Śiva* did not exist here

Prabhāsa seems to be on the south This is too general a direction for accurate identification, but its position to the south of *Sahasralinga* could be inferred It may be noted that the famous *tirtha* of *Prabhāsa* is to the south of *Pātana* A *Śiva* temple like *Somanātha* could have existed in this part

The other group of temples specially the *Pītha* of *Śakti* is noted on the west The marble pillars and structural materials on the western side, near the waste weir channel marking the mausoleum of Saiyad Hasan seem to indicate this place Here the *Sarasvatī Purāna* gives a long list of Goddesses

Usually in the tradition of *Saptamātṛkās* and *Śakti*, *Śiva*, *Vināyaka*, *Mahāśena* and *Lakulīśa* are also associated with them Under these conditions it is reasonable to identify these *tīrthas* on the western embankment of *Sahasralinga*. After this description one comes across the deities such as *Mahākāla*, *Kāpaltīśa Piśācamocana*, *Koṭī tīrtha*, *Bhūtamātā* and other deities specially of *śmaśāna* It is interesting to note that the cremation ground exists to the west of *Sahasralinga* It is, therefore, reasonable to identify these deities in this region, if the general movement of *Purāna* is taken into consideration

Additional *tīrtha* on the west is *Jangala* or *Mahāvana*. This feature indicates that on the west of the tank there was no habitation This is true to this day The *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* refers to a temple of *Vindhyavāsinī* in the centre. A perusal of the monuments

seems to point to the bridge and a platform on its west. This platform might be the place of the temple of *Vindhyavāsinī*. From this place *Urughantā* and the remains of parts of temples were discovered. This is suggestive of a temple possibly of *Goddess* as noted in the *Sarasvatī Purāna*.

The other site that could be proposed is on the *Bakasthāna*. But the absence of remains of temple is against this identification. However, the question of the final identification on the *Bakasthāna* be left open for future research. Even though this identification is possible, all the archaeological relics are bereft of decorations and hence certain chronological problems about the channel, *Rudrā*[illegible], etc., arise.

Chronology

If reliance is placed on the literary descriptions the existence of the tank at the site of *Sahasraliṅga* could be inferred from the time of *Durlabharāja* in the early eleventh century. However, in the early part of the twelth century the tank was dry. It required extensive repairs, restoration and construction of temples. A perusal of literary documents indicate that this activity was undertaken by *Siddharāja* after the conquest of Malwa in 1135-36 A. D. *Siddharāja* died in 1143 A. D. If these facts are considered all the work of the tank might have been completed within a span of about seven years. Calculation of the age of *Siddharāja* when he undertook this work is highly instructive. He came to the throne at the age of about 16 years, therefore in 1135 A. D. his age would have been about 58 years. At this ripe age, the folk lore associates him with infatuation and the curse by *Jasmā Odaṇa*. The quick work for the whole tank would have taken a few years to complete it. Possibly the tank was dug to a general depth of 2.5 meters. This whole work, therefore, might have been completed by about 1140 A. D. or a few years before his death.

The scale of the work would have been fairly large. The clearing of about 42,06,500 cu. mts. of earth, bringing about 36000 stones of 6 m × 30 cm × 30 cm. from a distance of more than a hundred kilometers, and producing bricks for the embankment would have involved considerable planning and administrative as well as technical work. The decorations of the temples and other artistic work in a short span of about five years would have involved

activities all round the year. This would have been possible only with a department like *Vāṛigrahakaraṇa*[13], that possibly planned and executed the work and later on maintained it. Once the tank might have been commissioned, it would have taken a few years for maturing the base and then the water might have remained for longer period. How long the tank was in commission after this work is a moot point.

It seems that the tank underwent another repairs at a later date. This is evident from the study of the excavated remains. Significantly the *Viṣnuyāna, Rudrakūpa, Prācī Sarasvatī*, Ghāt and *Saṅgam* are absolutely plain. A comparison with the *Rudrakūpa* of Dholka and *Pāṭaṇa* would indicate that the former with broken images *in situ* belongs to a tradition that is earlier than that seen at *Pāṭaṇa*. Added to this feature, the whole excavated portion clearly indicates the hand of the muslim rulers. The broken decorated architectural pieces are placed in irregular order. On a lintel on the flight of steps, near a *ghāṭa* on the eastern side an Arabic inscription is found.

The features indicate that *Sahasraliṅga* had undergone repairs. At this time the channel was desilted. The silt was deposited on the older earth work. Thus the desilting and consequent refitting of the channels, *Rudrakūpa*, and the vertical face of the earth work seem to indicate major phase of repair. A comparison of this technique with that used in similar conditions at Dholka indicates the period of Gujarat Sultans. From *Pāṭaṇa* these rulers continued to hold their power upto 1411 A. D. And after that also *Pāṭaṇa* was an important centre. The great interest in public works that was shown by Sultan Ahmed and Mehmud Begda indicates that like Dholka, *Pāṭaṇa* also might have received their attention. Due to this attention, the *Sahasraliṅga* also got a new lease of life and it continued for some more period as an active tank.

After this major repair the tank was in use. This is confirmed by the discovery of Glazed pottery of the period of the sultans. This pottery clearly indicates that the tank was in commission, possibly towards the 15th or early 16th century A. D. so it was active when *Vallabhācārya* and Behramkhan visited it.

During the period of Timurid Akbar and his successors, the activities at *Sahasraliṅga* could be inferred from the efforts at

13 Majumdar A. K., *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, p. 215

raising the bund specially on the north, construction of plat forms on the top of the earth work. This seems to be the work of the 17th century A D The construction of the octagonal Rauza on the *Bakasthāna* also seems to belong to this period as the use of *lakhauri* bricks, the arches and the niches at this place are indicative of it. Moreover the repairs at Saiyads Dargah, the construction of the Dargah of Maulana Mehboob seem to belong to this period. However, the tank seems to have fallen in disuse and got silted up. The section of the river clearly points to fossil soil of the period of 15th/17th century buried under the later sand.

The later sand seems to point to some small period of desiccation or destruction of vegetative cover Its thickness varying from .70 to about 1,70 meters at different places on the *Sarasvatī* indicate that this activity might have been responsible for filling up the tank and turning it into fields. The unsettled political conditions of the 18th century would have assisted the natural processes by stopping the necessary attention that was required for this tank.

A study of the topography of the area clearly indicates that this tank could survive only on the condition of keeping the intake channel open, and continuous care The monsoon streams that drain the area have a tendency to move on the southern side of *Pāṭana* from the surrounding area This feature will stop this water from entering *Sahasralinga*.

It is interesting to note that this feature of the locality was clearly envisaged as early as 1594. Khan-i-Azam-Aziz Koka seems to be aware of this situation, so he took steps to conserve the water of monsoon streams and built the tank Khan Sarovara.

This far sightenness of Khan-i-Azam paid dividends, in the sense that the tank is still in commission, though its complete drying out is not unknown.

The active natural causes and the human apathy brought an end of *Sahasralinga* possibly in the 17th/18th centures A. D Only its memory and high earth works survived, and attracted the attention of the visitors. Only the efforts of the spade of archaeologists brought back the evidence of the tank after its first major work from 1936.

Conclusion

The present study clearly indicates the efforts made at *Pāṭaṇ* for water conservation during the last thousand years Possibly a small tank was built on the north of the habitation and it was enlarged into a large tank This was a grand effort to keep the tank alive by building a channel from the river The engineers knew their problems of levelling, overflow, etc for water collection and storage

However this experiment was kept going on by succeeding generations at least for a period of about six centuries. The lack of upkeep resulted in the failure of this tank.

The neglect seem to be due to shifting local interest and political turmoil One fact, however, seems to indicate that the area selected for the tank was not very effective so at a later date another site was selected and a tank was built there

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE FROM GARUDA PURĀNA

By

TAHSILDAR SINGH

[गरुडपुराणस्य सप्तचत्वारिंशे अध्याये प्रासादस्य वास्तुपुरुषस्य च विवरण प्राप्यते। अस्मिन् अध्याये मन्दिरस्य प्रधानदेवमूर्तेस्त-दङ्गभूतान्यमूर्तीना च निर्माणादिविषयकं विवरणमस्ति। अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकेनास्य अध्यायस्य विवेचन प्रस्तुतम्। इतरग्रन्थेषु प्राप्त-स्यैतस्य विषयस्यापि उल्लेखः कृत।]

Like some other *Mahāpurānas*[1] Garuḍa Purāna too contains two chapters[2] dealing with architecture One of them, namely chapter 47, is specifically devoted to the description of a number of varieties of temples *(prāsādas)* and their respective characteristics

Terminology

While describing the temple architecture of c.8th-9th cent[3] Garuda Purāna applies a sufficiently rich glossary of the architectural terms for the corresponding architecturally distinguished organs of *prāsāda* and *Vāstupurusa* The list of these architectural terms followed by their most possible equivalent meanings can be arranged alphabetically as under ·

bhadra	projection
bhitti	wall

1. Viṣnudharmottara Purāna, Khanda III, Chs 86-88, Agni Purāna, Chs 42 & 104, Matsya Purāna, Ch. 269-270 and Bhaviṣya Purāna (Brahmaparva) Ch 130.
2. Garuḍa Purāna, Pūrvakhanda, Chs 46-47 The edition used for references in this article is edited by Ram Shanker Bhattacharya and published by Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1964.
3. I incline, here, only to confine my study to the architectural material of Garuda Purāna, therefore it may seem undesirable to discuss its date of composition However, it should be well cited here that after a sensitive and cautious perusal of the discussions of different authorities it (at least Pūrvakhanda) may be comfortably placed in c. 8th-9th cent. A. D

candraśālā	a decorative arched niche containing some image
dvāra	doorway
dvārapāla	door guardian
garbha (gṛha)	sanctum of temple
gavāksa	a window resembling the cow's eye, generally a latticed window
jagatī	platform
janghā	wall, see bhitti
kaṇṭha	constriction below the finial of the superstructure
maṇḍapa	hall
mañjarī	small spire, generally elevated over a miniature shrine or halls
matha	monastery
mukhamaṇḍapa	entrance porch
nāṭyaśālā	theatre
nemi	periphery of the platform around sanctum, the open place for *pradakṣinā*
nirgama	projection, see *bhadra*
pīṭha	pedestal of an image of deity in sanctum
pradakṣina	circumambulatory (path) around sanctum
prāsāda	the edifice, the temple
śikhara	spire of temple, superstructure
śṛnga	turret
sukāṅghri (kā)	antefix attached to the front facade of spire comprising a large *candraśālā*, also known as *śukanāsa*[4]
susiraka	perforated part like latticed window
ūrdhvakṣetra	platform, see *jagatī*
vedībandha	decorated and moulded basement

General Characteristics Groundplan and Elevation

The selected plot to erect the temple (*prāsāda*) should be divided into sixty-four equal rectangular parts (*padas*).[5] Out of these the four central most *padas* should be used for the erection of sanctum

4. For *śukāṅghri* Agni Purāna uses *śukanāsa*—see Ch 104.10, and Matsya Purāna also describes this portion of superstructure as *śukanāsā*, 270,12 and 18

5. See also Viṣnudharmottara Purāna, 3.88-1, and Vṛhatsaṃhitā, 53.11-16.

(*garbha*, here described as *catuskona* which literally means a quadrangle). The doorways (*dvāras*) should comprise twelve such *padas* and the remaining forty-eight *padas* should be engaged for the construction of walls (*bhittis*). The wall (*janghā*) should be proportionate in length with the platform (*ārdhvakseṭa*) and in height it should be double of the latter The expansion or area (*vistāra*) of the antefix attached to the front facade of temple's spire showing a large arched niche (*śukānghri*) should be equal to that of sanctum (*garbhagrha*) The projections (*nirgamas*) on either side should be one-third or one-fifth of the breadth of the *śukānghri* which is elevated upto half of the height of spire (*śikhara*) The *śikhara* should be divided into four parts and every part upto the third division, from bottom, should be elevated like the receding basement decorated with mouldings (*vedībandha*) The Fourth and the top most division should consist of the embellished crowning members (*kantha* and etc).[6]

There is one more method for preparing the groundplan of the *prāsāda* The chosen land should be levelled and divided into sixteen equal parts The four central parts should be covered by the *garbhagrha* and the walls should comprise the twelve parts The height of wall should commensurate with the length of four of these parts The height of *śikhara* should be double of that of wall. The width of the circumambulatory(*pradakṣinā*) should be one-fourth of the height of the *śikhara* The projections (*nirgamas*) on the four sides should be one-fifth (in breath) of the length of *garbhagrha*. There should be also a frontal (entrance) porch (*mukhamandapa*) attached to the *garbhagrha* commensuirating with the dimensions of the latter.[7]

Some Specific Types

After throwing a welcome light on general characteristics and some useful instructions for the preparation of groundplan and elevation of temples, Garuda Purāna describes some specific types of temple, too, with their specified standards and scales for cons-

6. '*Kaṇṭhamālasārakam*' is amenably suggested reading for '*Kaṇṭhamālasādhanam*', Matsya Purāna describes this as '*Kaṇṭhaścamalaśārakah*', 269 13, see also Visnudharmottara Purāna, 3, 86.7.

7. See also Agni Purāṇa 42 1-7, and Matsya Purāṇa 270 6.

truction. With an abridged description they are enlisted hereinafter.

(i) *Liṅgamāna Prāsāda*

As its very nomenclature suggests the *liṅga* or the image of the tutelary deity itself serves as the scale (*māna*) for the measurements of various limbs of the temples appertaining to this category. Here the pedestal (*pīṭha*) should be equal to the main image (*liṅga*) established above it and enshrined in the divine edifice of this class. The *garbhagṛha* should be double of the height of the *liṅga* around the latter and keeping it on its pedestal in the centre Thus the complete length of the *garbhagṛha* should be just double of the whole height of the *liṅga* (the pedestal+the image on it). The length of the wall (*bhitti*) should naturally commensurate with the width of the *garbhagṛha* and the height of that is double of the same. The height of *śikhara* is double of that of *janghā*. The *śukanāsika* or *śukānghri* should be proportionated with the dimensions of the space covered by the *garbhagṛha* and the *pīṭha*, inside, along with the *liṅga*. The *nirgamas* and the rest should be as has been directed already

In Madhya Pradesh there is a Śiva Temple, at Bhojpur in Distt Raisen, elevated only upto the walls. There is a gigantic *liṅga* enshrined inside. It seems to be a Liṅgamāna Prāsāda with an amazing consonance with the above mentioned description

(ii) *Dvāramāna Prāsāda*

The second specific variety of temples takes its doorway as a scale for determining the dimensions of the sanctuary.[8] According to this arrangement the one-eighth of the height of the doorway should measure four handbreadths[9] (*karāgra* i. e. *'bāliśta'* in Hindi Thus, the height of doorway will be thirty-two handbreadths i. e almost 16 feet because the *bāliśta* is generally equal to six inches which is occasionally stretched upto 8-9 inches also The height of the doorway is double of its breadth or the breadth is half of the height. The doorway should be erected just in the centre and in front of the *pīṭha* (settled in the *garbhagṛha*). The rest of the wall

8. See also Viṣnudharmottara Purāṇa 3,88. 5-6, and Vṛihatsamhitā 53 12-16

9. Here *'karāgra'* seems to be a handbreadth and the reckoning is a metaphorical suggestion for the number four.

(receiving the doorframe) should be perforated as to function like latticed window On the either side of the doorway the breadth of the *bhitti* should be half of the width of the doorway. The height of *janghā* should be proportionated with the breadth of the doorway and that of the *śikhara* should be double of the former. The *nirgamas* and the *śukānghri*—to be erected on the top of the wall basing the projections—should be erected in accordance with the previously propounded principles.

(*iii*) *Mandapamāna Prāsāda*

There is also a reference of a type of temples, christened as *mandapamāna*, in which the dimensions of different portions of the temple commensurate with that of hall (*mandapa*) The details of such shrines, however, are not traced in the chapter under discussion.

(*iv*) *Ksetramāna Prāsāda*

In another type of temples the area occupied by the inmate presiding deity should be multiplied by twelve[10] (*traivedam*) to get the area or the outline plan of the whole construction. The double of the *garbhagrha* should be measurement of the outline plan or periphery (*nemi*) i. e. the area of the *garbhagrha* should be half of the whole area of the plot chosen for the establishment of the edifice. The *nemi* should be left around the *garbhagrha* and the length of the left part should be equal to the one-fourth of the length of the latter.[11] Thus the situation of the main temple will be in the central part of the *nemi* (the exterior most line of the platform). The height of the *janghā* should be equal to the length of the *garbhagrha*. The *śikhara* should measure double of the *janghā*.

Classification

According to Garuda Purāna there are five classes of *prāsādas* each comprising nine models and thus providing a considerable number of 45 varieties of temples in consequence of and corresponding to their measurements and different origins. A table consisting of these models may be presented as follows .

10. '*Traivedam*' is symbolising the number 12; trai = three and vedam = four, so $3 \times 4 = 12$

11. Agni Purāna (104 7) presents it like '*Nemiḥ pādona Vistīrṇā*' Here one thing is noticeable that nemi is the left part around the temple within the periphery of the platform so it also might have been a term used for the open circumambulation path.

Name of class	Shape	Name of models
1 Vairāja	Caturasra (quadrangular)	Meru, Mandara, Vimāna, Bhadraka, Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Nandana, Nandivardhana & Śrīvatsa.
2. Puspakākhya	āyata (rectangular)	Valabhī, Gṛharāja, Śālāgṛha, Mandira, Vimāna, Brahmamandira, Bhavana, Uttambha & Śivakāvesma
3 Kailāsa	Vrtta (circular)	Valaya, Dundubhi, Padma, Mahāpadma, Mukuli[12], Usnīsī, Śankha, Kalasa & Guvavrksa [13]
4. Mālikāhvya[14]	Vrttāyata (apsidal)	Gaja, Vrsabha, Hamsa, Garuda, Simha[15], Bhūmukha[16], Bhūdhara, Śrījaya & Prthividhara.
5. Tripistapa[17]	astāsra (Octogonal)	Vajra, Cakra, Mustika, Vabhru, Vakra, Svastikakhanga[18], Gadā, Śrīvrksa & Vijaya or Śvetavijaya.

Besides these there are separately mentioned some more varieties of temples e. g *Trikona* (triangular), *Padma* (lotus-shaped), *Ardhendu* (Crescent-shaped), *Catuskona* (quadrilateral) and *Dvirastaka* (sixteen-sided). A consecrator of these temples is said to be bestowed perpetual grant of statuary powers (*rājya*), wealth (*vaibhava*), longevity (*āyuvardhana*), sanction of sons (*putra*-lābha) and wives (*striyah*) respectively. Another *Meru prāsāda* with hundred turrets (*śrngas*), four *dvāras* and four *mandapas* is conceded as sublime and best of all.

12. Agni Purāna (104.17) names it '*Vardhani*'.
13. Agni Purāna (104 18) names it '*Khavrksa*'.
14. In Agni Purāna (104.11) it is called '*Mānika*'.
15 *Ibid.* (104 19) it is called '*Rksanāyaka*'.
16. *Ibid* (104 19) it is called '*Bhūsana*'.
17. *Ibid.* (104.11) it is called '*Trivistapa*'.
18. See Agni Purāna (104.21) where '*Svastikakhanga*' denotes one type of temple contrary to the idea of some scholars who favour its separation as '*svastika*' and '*khanga*' indicating two types.

Other Paraphernalias

There is a list of some additional paraphernalias to be arranged in a temple so that it may be a complete divine edifice and its consecrator may be granted with all merits These are as under

Dhvajā A banner to be flapped above the temple

Mandapa and Gavākṣa These both seem to have been optional portions of a temple As the remnant monuments of the period indicate these were, most likely, not the inevitable organs of the temple However, if the consecrator is willing, there should be raised a hall (*mandapa*) and latticed windows (*gavākṣas*) in front of and attached with the *garbhagṛha* The length of the walls of *maṇḍapa* may be double, equal or even half of that of the *garbha gṛha*. There should be various types of projections (*bhadras*) in the walls of *mandapa* commensurating with the latter's dimensions in number and shape and size

Mañjarī. There should be constructed a *mañjarī* (small spire), above the *mandapa* embellished with high and low (*viṣama*) carvings relieved (*citra*) on it in accordance with the dimensions (*parimāna*) of its elevation

Vāhana-Mandapas

Corresponding to the tutelary deity of the temple there should be constructed a small shrine (*laghumandapa*) for the concerning mount or animal conveyance (*vāhana*). The recommended shapes are *caturasra* (quadrangular) and *āyata* (*rectangular*). These also should be domed with *śikhara* and *cadraśālās*

Devatās and Dvārapālas

On different facets of the temple the minor gods and different doorguardians (*dvārapālas* on doors) should be placed accordingly

Nāṭyaśālā and Maṭha Garuḍa Purāna also proposes the construction of a theatre (*nāṭyaśālā*) and monastery (*maṭha*) nearby the temple.

BHAKTI—THE BHĀGAVATA WAY TO GOD*

By
SUBHASH ANAND

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणीयभक्तेर्विवेचनं कृतम्। भागवतीया भक्तिः भगत्पदप्रदायिनी। निबन्धोऽयं भागचतुष्टयेषु विभक्तः। प्रथमे भक्तेः स्वरूपस्य विवेचनमस्ति। द्वितीयभागे भक्तेः विविधप्रकाराणां विवेचनम्। तृतीयेखण्डे भक्तिः पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टयसाधिका इति निर्दिष्टम्। चरमे च भागे वेदपुराणेतिहासादि-ग्रन्थेषूपलब्धस्य भक्तिस्वरूपस्य विवरणमस्ति।]

The *Bhāgavata-purāna*,[1] which claims to be a guide for the *sādhaka*[2] presents God, who is both *saguna* and *nirguna*,[3] as the ultimate *sādhya* of all human striving. This is what Śuka tells Parikṣit when the latter inquires about the nature of *samsiddhi*.[4]

Therefore, O descendant of Bharata, a man who wishes to overcome all fear, should hear about, sing about, and think about Hari, who is the blessed Lord of all.[5]

* This article is a chapter—with some very minor modifications—from a thesis "The Nature of Spiritual Life in the Bhāgavata-purāna", approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Banaras Hindu University.

1 Henceforth abbreviated as *BhP*

2. Cfr. S Anand, "The Bhāgavata-purāna A Guide for the Sādhaka", *Purāna* XX–1, pp 71-86

3 Cfr. S Anand, "Saguna or Nirguna", *Purana* XXI–1, pp. 40-63

4 atah prcchāmi samsiddhim yoginām paramam gurum. 1.19.37a Śrīdhara explains *samsiddhi* in this text as *mokṣa-lakṣana-siddhi*. The *BhP* uses the same words—*samsiddhi*, *siddhi*—to indicate not only the final destiny of man, i.e., *mokṣa* but also the state of that man whom we call a saint, i.e., *jīvan-mukti*. However, nowhere does the *BhP* itself use the terms *videha-mukti* or *jīvan-mukti*. Speaking of the place where Devahūti died, Maitreya says that it bestows *siddhi* and is resorted to by the *siddhas* (3.33.32b). Śuka who comes to see King Parikṣit is already a *samsiddha* (1.19.36b), while Devahūti attains *samsiddhi* only in death (3.33.31b)

5. tasmād bhārata sarvātmā bhagavānīsvaro harih, śrotavyah kīrtitavyasca smartavyaścecchatābhayam. 2.1.5. All quotations from the *BhP* are my own translation.

The man who desires to attain perfection should focus all h attention on Hari. The same teaching is repeated a little further on, but this time more forcefully ·

> Therefore, O king, at all times and in all places, man should with all his being hear about, sing about, and think about Hari, the Lord of all men.[6]

As Sūta was present when Śuka was instructing Parīksit he repeats the same truth when questioned by the sages of Naimisāranya [7]

Krsna Himself tells Uddhava that He is the highest Lord af all the activity of man, embodying in Himself all the four *purusārthas*,[8] and beyond Krsna tkere is no other goal to be realized.[9] He is thus the most desirable, the dearest of all dear ones [10] He is the ultimate reality of all that is good, and therefore dear to all [11] Every thing is centred on Him as their fulfilment [12] Hence it follows that only when man attains God does he attain his destiny This is explicitly taught to Uddhava by Krsna .

> Sages have come to me, the Lord of all sacrifices, the ultimate fulfilment of all, after having worshipped me, the true Self, with the sacrifice of knowledge and discernment performed within themselves.[13]

6. tasmāt sarvātmanā rājan harih sarvatra sarvadā,
śrotavyah kirtitavyaśca smartavyo bhagavān nrnām
2.2 36.

7 tasmādekena manasā bhagavān sātvatām patih,
śrotavyah kirtitavyasca dhyeyah pūjyaśca nityadā 1 2.14.

8. jñāne karmani yoge ca vārtāyām dandadhārane,
yāvānartho nrnām tāta tāvāmste' ham caturvidhah.
11.29 33

9. vāsudevātparo brahman na cānyo'rtho' sti tattvatah
2 5.14b.

10. ... presthah san preyasāmapi. 3 9.42a

11. śreyasāmapi sarvesāmātmā hyavadhirarthatah,
sarveṣāmapi bhūtānām harirātmā'' tmadah priyah.
4 31.13.

12. vāsudevaparā vedā vāsudevaparā makhāh,
vāsudevaparā yogā vāsudevaparāh kriyāh,
vāsudevaparam jñānam vāsudevaparam tapah,
vāsudevaparo dharmo vāsudevaparā gatih. 1 2.28-9

13. jñānavijñānayajñena māmistvā'' tmānamātmani,
sarvayajñapatim mām vai samsiddhim munayo' gaman
11.19.6.

But the question is how man can attain God What must be his inward disposition ? This too is explained to Uddhava by Krsna

> Man cannot come to me so effectively through *yoga* or *sāṃkhya*, through study or by doing one's duty, or through penance, as he can through intense *bhakti* for me I the true Self, most dear to the saints, can be won over by one-pointed devotion and faith.[14]

Thus *bhakti* constitutes the highest good of man[15] Man finds *samsiddhi* in *bhakti*[16] In this paper we shall first explain the nature of *bhakti*, and then indicate the characteristics of *nirguna-bhakti*—*bhakti* in its highest form We shall then discuss how *bhakti* helps man to attain his total fulfilment. In the last part we shall trace the scriptural foundation of the Bhāgavata doctrine of *bhakti*

Section I The Nature of Bhakti

"Bhakti" in the Śruti-texts

The root *bhaj* is already found in the *Rg-veda*[17] We find it used not only as a finite verb, but also as a participle (*bhakta*),[18] and as a noun (*bhakti*) too, though this last form occurs only once[19] From the context, it seems that the root *bhaj* was used to convey the idea of sharing and enjoying but merely in the "physical" or 'external" sense, i e, the object shared or enjoyed was something material, e. g. grass,[20] cattle,[21] riches,[22] or some disposition, e g,

14 na sādhayati mām yogo na sāmkhyam dharma uddhava,
na svādhyāyastapastyāgo yathā bhaktimamorjitā,
bhaktyāham ekayā grāhyah śraddhayā 'tmā priyah satam
11.14 20-1a

15 . . nihsreyasam pumsām matpritih . . 3 9 41b

16 . .. labdhvā harau bhaktimupaiti siddhim. 1 15 51b.

17 E. g., ā no bhaja paramesvā vājesu madhyamesu,
siksā vasvo antamasya 1 27 5 "*bhaja*" is translated as "give us a share" by R T H Griffith (*The Hymns of the Rgveda*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, rep. 1973, p 16), and as "partake" by H Oldenberg (*Vedic Hymns*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, rep. 1964, pt 2, p 16).

18. 1. 127. 5 Griffith given (*op cit*, p. 88). Oldenberg. enjoyed (*op. cit*, p 130)

19 8 .28 11. Griffith reward (*op cit.*, 418).

20 7.46.4

21 1.121 10

22. 10.112 10.

glory,[23] sinlessness,[24] strength [25] The person as such was not the object of the root *bhaj* in its finite or derivative forms The *Rgveda* meaning is found also in the *Atharva-veda*-use of this root,[26] and is retained in the Brāhmanas [27]

However, slowly the root *bhaj* is used to convey an internal sharing, an emotional communication, i e , the object of sharing is no longer something material or something belonging to the person, but the person himself "*Bhaktı*" no longer connotes a person-to-thing relation, but a person-to-person relation. This new understanding of the word is possibly found for the first time in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* [28] From this instance, as well as from its use in the *Maitri-upaniṣad*, it seems that "*bhakti*" connotes the attitude of a son towards his father, of a student towards his teacher, just as it indicates the attitude of a devotee towards his God. The sacred doctrine may be imparted to a son or to a pupil, as well as to one who has *bhaktı* i.e , the one who has the disposition of a son or a pupil [29] It is from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*—"the Upanishad

23 10.45.10.

24 1 104 6

25 1.43 8

26 E g., te bhaktivāmsah syāmah 6 79 3. "that we may share with thee" tr M Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, rep. 1971), p. 142.

27 E g , . .marutām sā bhaktih . . *Aitareya-brāhmana* 12 9 "That is the portion of the Maruts " tr A. B Keith, *Rig-veda Brāhmanas* (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25, 1920), p 177 . bhagasya bhajāmahe . . *Śatapatha-brāhmana* 2 6 2.13. "may we enjoy prosperity" tr J Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmana* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, rep 1966), pt I, p. 441

28. Cfr V P Limaye and R D. Vadekar, *Eighteen Principal Upanisads* (Poona, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, 1958), p. 300.

29 Both the texts are *adhikārı-śrutı*, i. e , they indicate the persons qualified to receive instruction It will help to read them in the original

vedānte paramam guhyam purākalpe pracoditam,
nāpraśāntāya dātavyam nāputrāyāsisyāya vā punah.
yasya deve parā bhaktiryathā deve tathā gurau,
tasyaite kathitā hyarthāh. *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* 6.22-3.

etad guhyatamam nāputrāya nāsisyāya nāsāntaya
kirtayeditı.
ananyabhaktāya sarvaguṇasampannāya dadyāt.
Maitri-upaniṣad 6.29.

hich of all the Upanishads stands nearest to the Gītā"[30]—that ie *Bhagavad-gītā* borrows it and further develops it.

Bhakti" in the Gītā

In the *Gītā*, "*bhakti*" indicates an attitude full of love for God,[31] arising from the awareness that he alone is the source of ll,[32] and consequently, it involves the total surrender of man who ives for God alone.[33] This love is so powerful that it fills the levotee's mind with a constant remembrance of his beloved Lord.[34] but *bhakti* is not a one-way traffic. The *bhakta* is God's compa- ion,[35] and though as such, God has no favourites, yet he has a very special relation to His *bhakta*.[36] Just as God is dear to the *bhakta*, so too is the *bhakta* dear to God.[37] Because of this love, God accepts from the *bhakta* whatever he may offer, however small and insignificant it may be.[38] Since between lovers there are no secrets, the *bhakta* enters the mystery of God; he knows God as a friend knows a friend.[39]

"Bhakti" in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa

The *BhP* basically accepts from the *Gītā* this rich and profound understanding of *bhakti* and reiterates it more forcefully.

"*bhakti*" has been understood as "devotion" by R.E. Hume (*The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford University paperback, 1971, p 411), and as "devotion, love through faith" by Limaye-Vadekar (*op. cit.*, p. 300).

30. R. C. Zaehner, *The Bhagavad-Gītā* (Oxford University Paperback, 1973), p. 9.
31. prīti-pūrvaka, 10.10a.
32. aham sarvasya prabhavo mattaḥ sarvam pravartate, iti matvā bhajante mām budhā bhāvasamanvitaḥ. 10.8
33. Kṛṣṇa characterizes the *bhakta* as *mat-parāyaṇa* (9.34b), as *mat-karma-kṛt* (11.55a).
34. satatam kīrtayanto mām yatantaśca dṛḍhavratāḥ, namasyantaśca mām bhaktyā nityayuktā upāsate. 9.14.
35. bhakto' si me sakhā ca....4.3.
36. samo'ham sarvabhūteṣu na me dveṣyo'sti na priyaḥ, ye bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpyaham. 9.29.
37. bhaktimān yaḥ sa me priyaḥ. 12.17b.
38. patram puṣpam phalam toyam yo me bhaktya prayacchati, tadaham bhaktyupāhṛtamaśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ. 9.26.
39. bhaktyā māmabhijānāti yāvān yaścāsmi tattvataḥ, tato mām tattvato jñātvā viśate tadanantaram. 18.55.

Bhaktı, being a disposition of love, seeks not its own, but the good pleasure of the beloved.[40] The *bhakta* surrenders himself totally to the Lord He lives only for Him, as Krsna teaches Uddhava to do

> O sinless one, since you are loved (by me) I explained to you in days gone by the way of devotion. I shall once again show you how you can foster devotion to me Have faith in my life-giving story and constantly proclaim it. Be steadfast in worshipping me Singh about me with songs of praise Serve me with respect and bow to me with all your limbs. Be very eager to serve my devotees and see me in all creatures Let all your limbs be engaged in doing my bidding, and let your speech spend itself in singing my goodness. Focus your mind totally on me, free yourself from all selfish desire. For my sake, put aside all sensual pleasure and (earthly) happiness. Let your offerings, alms-giving, sacrifices, prayers, vows and penance be for my sake Those men who having surrendered themselves (to me) follow this way of life, experience devotion for me, and there is nothing else they need to attain.[41]

This is the *bhaktı-yoga* taught by Krsna, and the man who follows this way finds his fulfilment in the Lord.

As in the *Gītā*, so too in the *BhP*, *bhaktı* is conceived as a reciprocal relation between God and the *bhakta* The *bhakta* is very dear to God[42] The relation of God and the *bhakta* is marked with so great a familiarity that God reveals Himself to His devotee whenever He is called, He is, so to say, at the beck and call of

40. sarvam tadetat purusasya bhūmno vrnīmahe te
paritosanāya. 4 30 40b

41. madarthesvangacestā ca vacasā madguneranam,
mayyarpanam ca manasah sarvakāmavivarjanam,
madarthe'rthaparityāgo bhogasya ca sukhasya ca,
istam dattam hutam japtam madartham yadvratam tapah,
evam dharmanimanusyānāmuddhavātmanivedinām,
mayi samjāyate bhaktih ko'nyo'rtho'syāvasisyate
11 19 22-4.

42. Krsna tells Uddhava .
na tathā me priyatama ātmayonirna śamkarah,
na ca samkarsano na srīrnaivātmā ca yathā bhavān
11 14 15

His *bhakta* [43] He is, if one may speak of God that way, not free but dependent on his devotee,[44] by whom He is overpowered, just as a man is won over by a charming wife [45] This intimacy of the *bhakta* and his Lord could not be more forcefully stated than in this declaration of Visnu himself

> Saintly people are like a heart to me, and I am the heart of such people Apart from me, they know nothing else, and I too know nothing but them [46]

This may sound a bit hyperbolic, but it brings out very clearly what the *BhP* has to say about devotion to God The intimacy between God and the *bhakta* involves a deep communion, so deep that the *bhakta* experiences a certain "oneness" with his beloved, an identity with the Lord [47]

Emotional Bhakti

The *bhakti* spoken of by the *BhP* is not just a disposition of the spirit of man, though it is primarily that, it is not exclusively so The deep love which the *bhakta* has for the Lord floods his whole being—body and soul His total personality vibrates with the rhythm of love Nārada, describing his experience, tells Vyāsa :

> With a mind overcome by tender emotion, with eyes filled with tears of longing, I meditated upon the lotus-feet of the Lord Slowly He appeared in my heart Due to this vision I felt extremely happy, the love in my heart revealed

43. Nārada tells Vyāsa
āhūta iva me śigram darsanam yāti cetasi 1.6 34b.

44. aham bhaktaparādhīno hyasvatantra iva dvija,
sādhubhirgrastahrdayo bhaktairbhaktajanapriyah. 9.4 63
nija-jana-vaśa-gata, 4 31.20 a,
nija-bhrtya-varga-tantra, 4 31 22 b,

45. mayi nirbaddhahrdayā sādhavah samadarsanāh,
vaśikurvanti mām bhaktyā satstriyah satpatim yathā.
9 4 66.

46. sādhavo hrdayam mahyam sadhūnām hrdayam tvaham,
madanyatte na jānanti nāham tebhyo manāgapi. 9.4.68.

47. The *gopīs* have lost sight of Krsna during the *rāsa-līlā*, but they are very much attached to him They think of him so intensely that they forget themselves; fully immersed in him (*tadātmikā*), they exclaim "*asāvaham* (I am he)" See 10 30.3

itself in horripilation I was so flooded with joy that I lost sight of Him and forgot myself [48]

Thus deep *bhakti* leads man to ecstasy—an experience in which he is so totally immersed that he forgets everything else, he is transported into the abode of the Lord, away from the world of men,[49] so overwhelmed by the experience that he cannot speak.[50] If the body has to reflect the movement of the soul, if it has to share in that experience, then it needs to be tuned to it This is the function of penance (*tapas*) [51] *Tapas* brings about a harmony in man, making him a unified whole This explains why, contrary to the expectation of some, Brahmā, after his austere penance, is so visibly moved by the vision of Viṣnu that his heart is filled with joy, he experiences horripilation, his eyes are flooded with tears [52] Kṛṣṇa even seems to indicate that this emotional experience is an essential constituent of *bhakti* .

How can the mind be purified without devotion, accompanied by horripilation, by the melting of the heart, by tears

48 dhyāyataścaraṇāmbhojam bhāvanirjitacetasā,
aṣkanthyāśrukalāksasya hrdyāsinme śanairharih,
[illegible] rtah,
[illegible] mune 1.6.17-8

49. Uddhava on being questioned by Vidura about the Lord is so moved that even Vidura cannot help noticing it
pūrnārtho laksitastena snehaprasarasamplutah 3 2 5 b.
Gradually Uddhava comes to himself
śanakairbhagavallokānnrlokam punarāgatah 3.2 6 b.

50. prativaktum na cotseha aṣkanthyāt smāriteśvarah
3 2.1 b

51. tapo me hṛdayam sāksādātmāham tapaso' nagha,
srjāmi tapasaivedam grasāmi tapasā punah,
bibharmi tapasā viśvam viryam me duścaram tapah.
2 9 22 b-23.

In note 46 above, we have seen that Viṣnu says that the holy men are his heart It is precisely because they practise *tapas* that they are prepared for devotion. God is *tapas*, i e., He is not chaotic energy, and His creative act is but an expression of His perfect Being for He is in full possession of Himself. The holy man by constant asceticism brings about a harmony within himself so that his total being is drawn into his surrender to the Lord, and not merely his will By constant effort his total self becomes transparent to the movement of the spirit.

52. taddarśanāhlādapariplutāntaro hrsyattanuh premabharāsrulocanah. 2 9.17 a.

of joy ? He who has devotion to me speaks with a choked voice; his heart melts; sometimes he laughs and sometime he cries; without any human respect he sings and dances with abandon. Such a devotee purifies the world.[53]

If the presence of the beloved fills the lover with joy, then his absence equally fills him with sorrow. He feels a sort of emptiness.[54] The *BhP* describes most poignantly the pangs of separation in connection with the *gopīs*, when during the *rāsa-līla* they lose sight of Kṛṣṇa.[55] Just as man is body and soul, so too, he is part of this universe. The mute creation shares in his sentiments of joy and sorrow. Man's experience of the presence or absence of the Lord affects his experience of the world in which he lives. He finds it a place of joy or sorrow accordingly. Kunti faced with impending departure of Kṛṣṇa, tells him :

> What will happen to us, the Pāṇḍavas and the Yādavas, when you will be away. We will continue to exist only in name and form, but without real life, just like a corpse wiht all senses intact but without the life-giving soul. Then, O Kṛṣṇa, this earth will no longer be so bright as it is now, adorned as it is with your foot-prints which are clearly recognisable by their specific marks.[56]

For a great *bhakta* like Yudhiṣṭhira even a short absence of the Lord makes the world unbearable.[57]

53. katham vinā romaharṣam dravatā cetasā vinā,
vinā" nandāśrukalayā śudhyed bhaktyā vinā" śayaḥ.
vāg gadgadā dravate yasya cittam rudatyabhikṣṇam
hasati kvacicca.
vilajja udgāyati nṛtyate ca madbhaktiyukto bhuvanam
punāti.
11.14.23-4.

54. Arjuna returns from Dvārka, the city of Kṛṣṇa, sad at heart. His elder brother, Yudhiṣṭhira, questions him as to why he looks so despondent. Arjuna replies :
so' ham nṛpendra rahitaḥ puruṣottamena
sakhyā priyeṇa suhṛdā hṛdayena śūnyaḥ. 1.15.20 a.

55. Cfr. 10.30-31. The *gopīs* become *unmattavat* (10.30.14 a).

56. ke vayam nāmarūpabhyām yadubhiḥ saha pāṇḍavāḥ,
bhavato' darśanam yarhi hṛṣikānāmiveśituḥ.
neyam śobhiṣyate tatra yathedānīm gadādhara,
tvatpadairaṅkitā bhāti svalakṣaṇavilakṣitaiḥ. 1.8.38-9.

57. yasya kṣaṇaviyogena loko hyapriyadarśanaḥ. 1.15.6 a.

Bhakti as Service of the Lord

If *bhakti* makes itself felt in the whole of man, then man is also called actively to use his total being to express his love for the Lord The reader will excuse a lengthy quotation, but I feel justified in making it, for it expresses the above idea more graphically than my words can do Śuka, describing Ambarīsa, a great devotee, says

> He had a great devotion to Vāsudeva, and sincere affection for His holy devotees, and hence he considered all this as good as a stone He fixed his mind on the lotus-feet of Krsna, with his tongue always proclaimed the goodness of Vaikuntha, his hands he cleaned the temple of the Lord, and did other humble tasks, with his ears he heard the wonderful story of Acyuta, with his eyes he saw the sanctuaries that housed the images of Mukunda, his touch was consecrated by coming into contact with the body of the servants of the Lord, his sense of smell (was purified) by the odour of the sacred Tulasī, made fragrant by the touch of His feet, he went on foot to the different places sacred to Hari, he bowed his head at the feet of Hrsīkeśa He did all this not with any ulterior motive to be realized through this service, but willing so that he may find joy in the company of the Lord of great renown.[58]

This idea of serving the Lord with one's whole self finds its systematic formulation in the presentation of *bhakti* as having six limbs (*ṣaḍ-anga*), as Prahlāda proclaims

58. vāsudeve bhagavati tadbhaktesu ca sādhusu,
prāpto bhāvam param visvam yenedam lostavat smrtam,
sa vai manah krsnapadāravindayorvacāmsi
vaikunthaguṇānuvarṇane,
karau harermandiramārjanādisu srutim
cakārācyutasatkathodaye,
mukundaliṅgālayadarsane dṛśau tadbhrtyagātrasparśe'
ngasangamam
ghrāṇam ca tatpādasarojasaurabhe śrīmattulasyā rasanām
tadarpite
pādau hareh ksetrapadānusarpane siro
hrsīkeśapadābhivandane
kāmam ca dāsye na tu kāmakāmyayā
yathottamaslokajanāśrayā ratih. 9.4.17-20

O most worshipful One, how can man obtain devotion to You, the one goal of the highest ascetics, without performing this sixfold service saluting You, praising You, worshipping You (*pūjā*), doing his duty (for you), meditating on Your feet, listening to Your story [59]

Earlier, the same Prahlāda in reply to his father's question had declared *bhakti* to be ninefold (*nava-dhā*)

To receive instruction about, to speak about, and to think about Viṣnu, to serve His feet, to worship Him, to bow to Him, to think of oneself as His slave, to love Him, as a companion, and to totally surrender oneself to Him—these are the nine characteristics (*nava-lakṣana*) of *bhakti* When a man practises this devotion to Viṣnu, then he has the greatest learning.[60]

Section II The Highest Form of Bhakti

The Grades of Bhakti

Spiritual life is a long and arduous journey. One does not reach the heights of perfection all at once The *BhP* takes cognizance of this and speaks of the different levels of *bhakti*, and of the different types of *bhaktas* [61]

59. tat te' rhattama namahstutikarmapūjāh
karma smṛtiścaranayoh śravanam kathāyām,
samsevayā tvayi vineti sadangayā kim
bhaktim janah paramahamsagatau labheta 7 9 50.

60. śravanam kirtanam viṣnoh smaranam pādasevanam,
arcanam vandanam dāsyam sakhyamātmanivedanam,
iti pumsārpitā viṣnau bhaktiścennavalaksanā,
kriyate bhagavatyaddhā tanmanye' dhitamuttamam
7 5 23-4.

For a detailed analysis of this concept see

A. Gail, *Bhakti im Bhāgavata-purāna* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), pp 70-86,

M. Mohammad, *Vaisnava Bhakti Āndolan kā Adhyayan* (Delhi, Rajpal and Sons, 1971), pp 308-14,

H. Sharma, *Bhāgavata-darśan* (Aligarh, Bharat Prakashan Mandir, samvat 2000), pp. 142-50, and

S. Bhattacarya, *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad Bhāgavata* (Shantiniketan, Vishva-bharati, 1962), vol. II, pp 188-204

61. The saint is characterized as having *para-bhakti-bhava* (3.24.45b), *parama-bhakti* (4 11.30b).

Kapila—an *avatāra* of Hari—while instructing his mother, Devahūti, speaks of the manifold *bhakti* discipline.[62] There are four types of *bhaktas*:[63] the first three being dependent on the dominance of one of the *gunas*, the last being free of all three of them. The *tāmasa-bhakta* is ruled by mean motives · violence, pride, envy, etc The *rājasa-bhakta* is propelled by worldly motives glory, power, etc The *sāttvika-bhakta* strives to get rid of his *karma*, or acts out of a sense of duty In all these three types, the self is somehow present The fourth type of *bhakta* is one who is moved by the glory of the Lord alone. He is the *nirguna-bhaktu*[64] *Nirguna-bhakti* is the highest form of *bhakti*.[65]

Nirguṇa-bhakti

It is significant that the *BhP* speaks of the highest *bhakti* as *nirguna-bhakti* Before we bring out the characteristics of the highest form of *bhakti*, it will be helpful to understand the reason for this nomenclature In Sāmkhya metaphysics, the *gunas* are the physical constituents of *prakrti* Of course they do have their psychological and moral aspects also. Within this framework we could understand the *guṇas* to be the different temperaments[66] The temperament is an expression of the innate, and hence, preconscious disposition of man, of his nature, understood in a very broad way As such, it is a complex phenomenon, made up of desirable aspects No man has a pure temperament as such Rather, he

62 bahuvidha-bhakti-yoga, 3 29 7a

63 caturvidha-bhakti-yoga, 3 32 37a

64 abhisamdhāya yo himsām dambham mātsaryameva vā,
saṃrambhī bhinnadṛgbhāvam mayi kuryāt sa tāmasah
visayānabhisamdhāya yaśa aiśvaryameva vā,
arcādāvarcayed yo mām pṛthagbhāvah sa rājasah
karmanirhāramuddiśya parasmin vā tadarpanam,
yajed yaṣṭavyamiti vā pṛthagbhāvāh sa sāttvikah
madgunasrutimātrena mayi sarvaguhāśaye,
manogatiravicchinnā yathā gangāmbhaso' mbudhau,
laksanam bhaktiyogasya nirgunasya ... 3 29 8-12a

65. atyantika, 3.29.14a

66. That we are not wrong in understanding the *gunas* as types of temperaments is borne out by the long analysis the *BhP* makes of the nature and effects of the *gunas*. Cfr. 11.25.A similar analysis had long before appeared in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Cfr. 14.5-17, 17.1 22, 18 7-39.

experiences an interplay of the different *guṇas*.[67] These *guṇas* tend to minimise man's freedom, make it difficult for him to exercise his choice, as they preconsciously dispose him to a particular way of reacting to different situations. The inborn tendency of man is to succumb to this innate disposition, to follow the line of least resistance.[68]

Man and his total situation is marked with the three *guṇas*.[69] On the other hand, God is entirely beyond all *guṇas*.[70] Being pure consciousness,[71] He cannot be the victim of a preconscious disposition. Even in the process of creation, God is not touched by the three *guṇas*.[72] He is pure freedom, nay, the only being who is fully free. In him, nature and consciousness, spontaneity and free choice are identical. Consequently whatever helps man to reach Him in some way shares in His *nirguṇatva*[73]

If the *BhP* speaks of the highest *bhakti* as *nirguṇa-bhakti*, then what it means to say is that the highest *bhakti* is not the outcome of man's succumbing to his temperament; it is the result of a free choice evoked by hearing the glory of the Lord.[74] At times one may get the impression that the *BhP* gives preference to the *sattva-guṇa*.[75] However, it also states, and that too in no unclear terms,

67. The *BhP* lists the characteristics (*vṛtti*) of the different *guṇas* (11.25.1-5), as well as their combined effects (*saṁnipāta*) (11.25.6-8).
68. prakṛtim yānti bhūtāni *Bhagavad-gītā* 3.33b.
69. traiguṇyaḥ sarva eva hi. 11.25.30b.
70. Cfr. S. Anand, "Saguṇa or Nirguṇa", pp. 51-3.
71. cit-ātman, 1.3.30a; jñāna-ghana, 8.3.12b; jñāna-ātman, 8.3.18b.
72. parāvareśo manasaiva viśvam sṛjatyavatyatti guṇairasaṅgaḥ. 1.5.6b.

 Here *manas* should not be taken as a Sāṁkhyan category, for in that case God would not be *guṇairasaṅgaḥ*, but as Śrīdhara explains : *manasā saṁkalpamātreṇa*.
73. Cfr. 11.25.20-9
74. It may sound a bit paradoxical that *guṇa-śruti* of the Lord (3.29.11a) should help man to go beyond the three *guṇas* (*ativrajya triguṇam*....3.29.14b). We have already noted that the *guṇas* can be understood as the constituents of Prakṛti or as qualities. See S. Anand, "Saguṇa or Nirguṇa", pp. 51-4.
75. pārthivāddhāruṇo dhūmastasmādagnistrayīmayaḥ, tamasastu rajastasmātsattvam yadbrahmadarśanam. 1.2.24

that some times even the manifestations of the *sattva-guna* can be harmful to us [76] This is to say that in order to attain the highest *bhakti*, man has to go beyond all the three *gunas* This is not easy, as nature is very strong, and continually asserts itself.[77] The function of *yoga* is precisely to help man to acquire that inner unity so that he can possess himself in complete freedom and not just be limited to action prompted merely by the three *gunas*[78].

Since highest *bhakti* demands that man go beyond all *guṇas*, it means that no *guna* can be an irremovable obstacle to perfection. Indra[79] and Parīkṣit[80] are wonder-struck that a person like Vrtra, having a *rajas-tamas*-dominated disposition, should have reached perfection, that he should have a firm devotion towards the Lord

Though the highest *bhakti* is qualified as *nirguna*, it does not mean that this is an artificial way of life. The saint by constant practice has reached that stage where *bhakti* is natural to him.[81] By constant effort he has so much interiorised this disposition that it has become one with his nature,[82] so that just as a piece of iron is naturally drawn towards a magnet, so too the *bhakta's* mind and heart are drawn to the Lord [83]

Characteristics of Nirguṇa-bhakti

In his instruction to his mother, Kapila describes *nirguna-bhakti* thus .

> The steadfast movement of the mind towards Me, like the uninterrupted flow of the Gangā towards the sea, inspired by the mere hearing of my goodness, is considered to be the

76 rajah pramādah ksunnidrā satravastvevamādayah, rajastamahprakrtayah sattvaprakrtayah kvacit 7 15 44

77 balistha-prakrti, 3 5 46a

78. tasmād bhavadbhih kartavyam karmanām trigunātmanām bījanirharanam yogah pravāhoparamo dhiyah. 7 7 28

79. khalvidam mahadāscaryam yad rajahprakrtestava, vāsudeve bhagavati sattvātmani drdhā matih. 6 12 21

80. rajastamahsvabhāvasya brahman vrtrasya pāpmanah, nārāyane bhagavati kathamāsīd drdhā matih 6 17.1

81. gunairalamasamkhyeyairmāhātmyam tasya sūcyate, vāsudeve bhagavati yasya naisargikī ratih. 7.4.36

82. svābhāvikī-vrtti, 3 25.32b

83. yathā bhrāmyatyayo brahman svayamākarsasamnidhau, tathā me bhidyate cetaścakrapāneryadrcchayā 7.5 14

(distinctive character of *nirguna-bhakti-yoga* This devotion to the highest *puruṣa* is disinterested and steadfast [84]

Thus, *nirguna-bhakti* is disinterested, it is not inspired by any personal gain The *nirguna-bhakta* loves Bhagavān Hari simply because he is the dearest of all dear ones,[85] moved solely by his glory [86] He does not even seek personal bliss in the company of the Lord, much less the extraordinary powers associated with *yoga* [87] He is absolutely without any expectations.[88] The one who seeks to gain something from the Lord is not a real *bhakta*, but only a businessman [89] This idea of highest *bhakta* being selfless runs through the entire *BhP*,[90] because the *BhP* clearly holds that nothing can be greater than selfless *bhakti* [91]

The second characteristic of *nirguna-bhakti* is that it is firm and can face and overcome all opposition. It remains faithful even unto death [92] We have a very good example of this aspect of *bhakti* in the person of Prahlāda He is a great saint, completely devoted to Kṛṣna,[93] a veritable mine of virtue [94] On the other hand, his father, Hiranyakaśipu, just cannot bear even the mention of the name of Bhagavān Hari [95] When he learns that

84 madguṇaśrutimātrena mayi sarvaguhāśaye,
manogatiravicchinnā yathā gangāmbhaso'mbudhau,
lakṣaṇam bhaktiyogasya nirguṇasya hyudāhṛtam,
ahaitukyavyavahitā yā bhaktiḥ puruṣottame. 3 29.11-2.

85 . presthaḥ preyasām. .3.9.42a

86 tadguṇāśrayayā bhaktyā . .3.32 22b

87 atho vibhūtim mama māyāvinastāmasīvaryamastāṅgamanupravṛttam, 3 25.37a.

88 nairapeksyam param prāhurniḥśreyasamanalpakam,
tasmānnirāśiso bhaktirnirapeksasya me bhavet 11 20.35

89. yasta āśisa āśāste na sa bhṛtyaḥ sa vai vaṇik. 7.10.4b

90 Other terms used to bring out the idea of disinterested *bhakti* are *animittā* (3 25 33a), *amalā* (7 7 52b), *akāmabhakta* (7.10 6a), *ananya-rādhas* (9 21 17a)

91. animittā bhagavatī bhaktiḥ siddhergarīyasī 3.25 33a

92 The idea of steadfast *bhakti* is conveyed by the following terms and expressions *a-pratihatā* (1 2.6b), *askhalita-matiḥ* (1.5 27a), *santata-anuvṛtti* (1 3 38a), *acala-bhāva* (2 3.11b), *avyavahitā* (3 29.12b) *acalita-smṛtiḥ* (4 12.8b), *dṛḍhā* (4.22. 21b), *naiṣṭhikī* (4 22.20b).

93. *mahā-bhāgavata*, 3.14.47a, *mahā-ātmā*, *ibid.*

94. *guṇa-ākara*, 3.14.48a.

95. For the details of the story, see 7.4-9.

his son is incorrigibly attached to Viṣnu, he forgets all paternal affection and orders that Prahlāda be slain. When all other means fail, Hiraṇyakaśipu even tries to slay his son himself Prahlāda, however, remains undaunted by all this The *nirguṇa-bhakta* is like the river Gangā which perpetually flows into the sea, unhampered by any obstacle [96]

Lastly, *nirguṇa-bhakti* is exclusive [97] The Lord is not just one of the many objects of love He is the highest object, nay the only object of love Everything else is to be loved only with reference to Him This is clearly taught by the Lord Himself :

> O Brahmā, I am the innermost Self of all selves, I am the most worthy of love among all lovable beings Hence direct all your affection towards Me The body and all else is dear on account of Me.[98]

These words remind us of the instruction Yājñavalkya gave to his faithful wife [99] The *BhP*, in fact, does indicate exclusive devotion as the identifying mark of the highest *bhakta*,[100] and presents the faithful wife as the symbol for this devotion [101] Consequently, when any other affection becomes an obstacle to the love of God, then it must be abandoned [102]

96. Kuntī's prayer to Kṛsna
tvayi me'nanyaviṣayā matirmadhupate'sakrt,
ratimudvahatādaddhā gangevaughamudanvati. 1 8 42.

97 A host of terms and expressions bring out this idea *ekānta-matiḥ* (1 4 4b), *ananya-bhāva* (1 7 25b), *anaya-viṣaya-ātmā* (1.8 13a), *ananya-viṣaya-matiḥ* (1 8 42a), *ekānta-bhakta* 1 9 22a), *ananya-bhaktiḥ* (3 25 40b), *ananya-dṛś* (3 14 46b), *ananya-dṛṣṭi* (3 13 49b), *vāsudeva-eka-niṣaya* (11 2 50b), *eka-bhaktiḥ* (1 13 2b).

98 ahamātma' tmanām dhātah presthah san preyasāmapi,
ato mayi ratim kuryād dehādiṛyatkṛte priyah. 3 9.42.

99. Cfr *Brhadāranyaka-upaniṣad* 2 4.5.

100. jñātvājñātvātha ye vai mām yāvān yaścāsmi yādṛśah,
bhajantyananyabhāvena te me bhaktatamā matāh.
11 11 33.

101. The *bhakta* (e g. 1 7 25b) and the faithful wife (6 18.35b) are both characterised by *ananya-bhāva* In fact, the context of the second text (especially 6.18 34a mānasah sarvabhūtānām vāsudevaḥ śriyah patih) seems to show that for the *BhP* a wife should be as devoted to her husband as a devotee is to Vāsudeva

102. mayyananyena bhāvena bhaktim kurvanti ye dṛdhām,
matkṛte tyaktakarmāṇastyaktasvajanabāndhavāḥ, 3.25.22.

Section III Bhakti and Human Fulfilment

Bhakti as the Highest Artha

Early Indian ethical thinkers have worked out the doctrine of the *purusa-artha*-s, the "goals or ends of human existence". The four *puruṣārtha*-s are proposed as motives for leading a high moral life. Of the four, *kāma*—the satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic needs—was considered to be the lowest, and as such, subordinated to the other three. *Moksa*—the liberation of the spirit—was the highest, "to be attained only by a few and the vast majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the most distant future *Artha*—the fulfilment of economic needs—and *dharma*—rightful conduct—were subordinated to *moksa*.[103]

The *BhP* first states that *bhakti* is the safest means to attain these four *puruṣārtha*-s

> The service of the feet of Hari is the one and only means to attain one's good, whether it be *kāma* or *artha*, *dharma* or *moksa* [104]

Just as the one who grasps the drum grasps also its sound,[105] so too the *bhakta* who "possesses" the Lord possesses all else, including the four *puruṣārtha*-s This means that *bhakti* is not just a means to an end, but is itself the highest fulfilment of man It alone can give full meaning (*artha*) to man's life It is not one of the *artha-s*, but the highest *artha*, the highest purpose of human life

> One-pointed devotion to Govinda, which expresses itself in seeing Him in all beings, is considered to be the highest good of man in this world [106]

Without this *bhakti* all else is but an empty show.[107] On the other hand, for one who has *bhakti*, no other *artha* remains to be achieved, as Krsna teaches Uddhava

103 To write this paragraph, I have used the information supplied by P V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśastra* 5 vols (Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-), vol II, pt. 1, pp 8-9

104 dharmārthakāmamoksākhyam ya icchecchreya ātmanah, ekameva harestatra kāranam pādasevanam, 4 8.41.

105 Cfr. *Brhadāranyaka-upanisad* 2.4 7.

106. etāvāneva loke'smin pumsah svārthah parah smrtah, ekāntabhaktirgovinde yat sarvatra tadiksanam, 7 7.55.

107. priyate'malayā bhaktyā hariranyad vidambanam. 7.7.52b.

O Uddhava, men who follow the teaching I have imparted to you experience deep devotion to me They surrender themselves fully to me What other *artha* have they to achieve ?[108]

The Lord, who is of infinite goodness, is the source of all joy. Could one want anything more on having attained Him ?[109] For the *bhakta* the Lord Himself is the fourfold *puruṣārtha*,[110] Hence all activity of man, be it learning or penance, oblations or alms, finds it indefeasible fulfilment (*acyuta-artha*) in and through *bhakti* [111] Thus, according to the *BhP*, *bhakti* is not only the best means to fulfil the *puruṣārtha*-s, but it is also the goal of all *puruṣārtha*-s, of all human endeavour

Bhakti as the Highest Dharma

As we have noted elsewhere,[112] the *BhP* begins by claiming that its purpose is to set forth the highest *dharma* of saints "Dharma is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue."[113] The word is derived from the root *dha* to support, to uphold, to nourish, to sustain, to carry In the *Ṛg-veda* it occurs in the form of *dharman* as a noun—neuter or masculine—or as an adjective, sixty times independently, eighteen times with the prefix *vi*, and about fiftysix times in combination with *sva* and *satya* In a few cases, it means "upholder", "supporter", "sustainer", and then it is in the masculine In the other instances, it is used either clearly in the neuter or in a context where it could be either neuter or masculine. In most of these uses it means "religious ordinances or rites"; but

108 evam dharmairmanusyānāmuddhavātmanivedinām,
mayi samjāyate bhaktih ko'nyo'rtho'syāvasisyate. 11 19 24.

109. bhaktim labdhavatah sādhoh kimanyadavasisyate,
mayyanantagune brhamanyānandānubhavātmani
11.26 30

110 yāvānartho nrnām tāta tāvāmste'ham caturvidhah
11 29 33a

111. idam hi pumsastapasah srutasya vā
svistasya sūktasya ca buddhidattayoh,
avicyuto'rthah kavibhirnirūpito
yaduttamaślokagunānuvarnanam 1.5 22.

112. See S. Anand, "The Bhāgavata-purāna A Guide for the Sādhaka', pp 72-5

113. Kane, *op. cit*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 1.

n some cases this understanding would not be suitable One would ıave to translate ıt as "fixed principles or rules of conduct "[114]

In the *Brhadāranyaka-upanisad, dharma* ıs presented as originating from the "person-like Soul "[115] In the evolutionary process, ıt comes after the four castes, but as a better form It ıs the power of the *ksatra*-class, and there ıs nothing greater than *dharma* Further ıt ıs identified with *satya*[116] In another text, *brahma* is said to be both *dharma-maya* and *a-dharma-maya*[117] Thus, though the highest reality ıs the source of *dharma,* ıt is ıtself beyond it.

In the *Chāndogya-upanisad, dharma* ıs seen as having three branches. The first consists of sacrifice, study and almsgiving the second of penance, and the third of discipleship[118] Kane is of the opinion that this text refers to the specific duties of the different *āśramas.* Thus slowly *dharma* came to mean

> the privileges, duties and obligations of a man his standards of conduct as a member of the Āryan community as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life[119]

Thus, when the sages approach Manu, they want to learn about the duties of the different *varnas*[120] But human behaviour always has a goal, a purpose. Hence, the *Vaisesika-sutra* defines *dharma* in terms of the goal to be realised *dharma* is that course of action which leads man to his highest good[121]

Having stated that its purpose is to expound the highest *dharma*, the *BhP* informs us that the goal to be realised by follow-

114 For this paragraph, I have depended on Kane, *op cit*, pp 1-2

115. purusa-vidha-ātman, I 4,1

116 tacchreyorūpamatyasrjata dharmam tadetat kşatrasya kşatram yaddharmah tasmāddharmāt parām nāsti atho vai sa dharmah satyam vai tat I I 14

117 4 4 5

118. trayo dharmaskandhāh yajño' dhyayanam dānamiti prathamah. tapa eva dvitiyah. brahmacāry ācāryakulavāsī trtiyah 2 23 1.

119. Kane, *op cit*, p 3

120. bhagavan sarvavarnānām yathāvadanupūrvasah,
antaraprabhavānām ca dharmānno vaktumarhasi
Manu smrti 1 2

121. yato' bhyudayanihsreyasasiddhih sa dharmah. I I 2.

this *dharma* is to reach God [122] It then goes on to tell us how man can attain God

> That which leads to selfless and steady devotion to Adhoksaja is the highest *dharma* of man Through this devotion man's spirit finds peace [123]

Thus the highest *dharma* of man is that course of action which leads to motiveless and steadfast devotion, i e, *nirguna-bhakti*. Hence any other way of life in as much as it does not foster devotion to the Lord is but labour lost [124] On the other hand, *dharma* well-performed finds its consummation in *bhakti* [125] Krsna himself defines *dharma* as consisting in fostering devotion to him.[126] The *BhP* goes one step further it identifies *dharma* with *bhakti*

> By reverently taking the name of the Lord, and by other means, to have a sustained devotion to the Lord—that is the highest *dharma* of men in this world [127]

Thus in the *BhP* *bhakti* is stated to be the end and the means of fulfilling *dharma* it is the end to be realised (*sādhya*) by leading a life of *dharma*, and being identified with *dharma*, it is also the means (*sādhana*) That *bhakti* is the end, the goal to be realised by following *dharma* is quite in keeping with the view that God is the end of man, for God is both the source of *dharma*[128] and its ultimate mystery,[129] nay, He is essentially *dharma* itself [130] Hence, only one who is devoted to the Lord can really understand

122. īsvara-avaruddhi, 1.1 2b.
123. sa vai pumsām paro dharmo yato bhaktiradhoksaje, ahaitukyapratihatā yayā"tmā samprasīdati. I 2.6
124 dharmah svanusthitah pumsām visvaksenakathāsu yah, notpādayedyadi ratim srama eva hi kevalam I 2 8
125. svanusthitasya dharmasya samsiddhirharitosanam I 2 13b
126. dharmo madbhaktikrt proktah . . 11 19 27a.
127. etāvāneva loke'smin pumsām dharmah parah smrtah, bhaktiyogo bhagavati tannāmagrahanādibhih 6 3 22
128. dharma-yoni, 3.7 35a. dharmamūlam hi bhagavān sarvavedamayo harih 7.11.7a
129. Sanak and his three brothers address Visnu thus . dharmasya paramo guhyo nirvikāro bhavān matah 3 16,18b.
130. dharma-maya, 2 4 19b.

dharma in its fulness.[131] It follows therefore that the man who is turned away from the Lord, bereft of *bhakti*, is equally removed from dharma.[132]

Bhakti and Ātma-tuṣṭi

Manu also taught that *dharma* leads to a sense of spiritual fulfilment (*ātma-tuṣṭi*).[133] The *BhP* teaches that it is only when man fulfils t e *dharma* of *bhakti* that he experiences peace of soul,[134] while all other duties bring only passing happiness.[135] This explains why Bhīṣma who is the best among the followers of *dharma*,[136] after having explained all the forms of *dharma* to Yudhiṣṭhira, realising that the hour of his death is very close at hand, prays that his mind may be fixed on Bhagavan Hari through love.[137]

Why is it that *bhakti* leads to this peace of soul? We could best answer this question by trying to reconcile two statements of the *BhP*. We have already noted that the *BhP* clearly states that *bhakti* is man's highest *dharma*. It also states that *a-satya* is the highest *a-dharma*.[138] This being the case, one would naturally expect *satya* to be the highest *dharma*.[139] The *BhP* does not state this explicitly, but it seems to point in that direction.[140] Thus the *BhP* states both *bhakti* (explicitly) and *satya* (implicitly) to be the highest *dharma*.

131. nārāyaṇaparā viprā dharmam guhyam param vidu[ḥ],
karuṇāḥ sādhavaḥ śāntāstvadvidhā na tathāpare. 7.11 1.

132. He who is *kṛṣṇa-vimukha* is also *a-dharma-śīla* (3.5.3 c).

133. vedo'khilo dharmamūlam smṛtiśīle ca tadvidam,
ācāraścaiva sādhūnāmātmanastuṣṭireva ca. *Manu-smṛti* 2.6.

134. ...yayā"tmā samprasidati. 1.2.6b.

135. kṣulla-sukha-āvaha, 3.5.10b.

136. dharmabhṛtām varam. 11.19.11a.

137. Cfr. 1.9.32-42.

138. na hyasatyāt paro' dharmaḥ....8.20.4a.

139. Already in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* we have the identification of *satya* and *dharma*: yo vai sa dharmaḥ satyam vai tat. tasmāt satyam vadantamāhurdharmam vadatīti. dharmam vā vadantam satyam vadatīti 1.4.14.

140. The saint who embodies all the virtues is called *sat*. Cfr. S. Anand, "The Bhāgavata-purāṇa: A Guide for the Sādhaka", pp. 73-4. In Kali-yuga, only one of the four legs of Dharma, i. e., *satya*, remains Cfr. 2.1.24-5.

The word *satya* is the verbal adjective of the root *as* (to be), and it may be translated as "that which ought to be "[141] Hence when one has *satya*, one has, or rather one is, what he ought to be i e, he has an authentic existence One has a fully authentic existence only when he is fully what he ought to, and therefore, can, be This authentic existence calls for the total actualisation of the potentiality of being. It is only then that one can reach the point of perfect calm, the state of perfect self possession. Now, if the *BhP* states that both *satya* and *bhakti* are man's highest *dharma*, then the former is the form and the latter the content of *dharma*, i e, it is man's *dharma* to fully realise himself, and he can do this only by loving God

Bhakti is the fulness of *satya*—this for two reasons (1) It is the actualisation of the deepest potency of man, i e, the power to love (2) In *bhakti*, this love is directed towards him who is the most worthy of love,[142] who is Himself fully authentic existence [143] Thus when man acquires the highest *bhakti* for the Lord, he then reaches the end of his spiritual pilgrimage. Consequently he experiences the fulness of peace [144] Like St Augustine of Hippo, the *bhakta* exclaims "You have made us for yourself, O Lord, and our heart is restless until it rests in you "[145]

Section IV The Scriptural Foundation of Bhakti

Bhakti as the Essence of Śruti

Manu teaches that the whole of the Veda is the source of *dharma*.[146] The *BhP* not only claims to be equal to the Veda,[147]

141 Cfr F. Kielhorn, *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language* (Varanasi, Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, rep 1970), pp 238-242, and p 274

142 ...presthah san preyasāmapi. 3 9 42a

143 para-satya, 1 1 1b

144 Note the two intensive prefixes *su* and *sam* added to the verb *pra-sad* in 1 2 5b and 1.2 6b It is interesting to see how the *BhP* defines *satya* as *samadarśana* (11.19 37b), which is also the characteristic of the *bhāgavata-uttama* (11 2 45).

145. *The Confessions of St Augustine*, J K Rayan (tr) (New York, Image Books, 1960), p. 44.

146. See above, note no. 133

147. brahma-sammita, 1 3 40a.

t presents itself as the mature fruit of Vedic thought,[148] the
ty essence of *Śruti*[149] It claims to teach not merely Vedanta,
t the very cream of Vedānta[150] After affirming that for a man
10 has fallen into the river of birth and death the best way of
ape is devotion to Krsna, the *BhP* goes on to say

> The supreme Brahmā, after having thoroughly examined the three Vedas with all his discerning power, turns his attention to that which would lead to devotion to the Self[151]

We have already studied the use of the word *bhakti* in the *uti*-texts Here we shall briefly trace the development of the octrine of *bhakti* in the *Rg-veda* and the *Śvetāśvatara-upanisad*

he Idea of Bhakti in the Rg-veda

We have already noted above that the word *bhakti* though und in the *Rg-veda*, is not used in the sense with which we are familiar. But the idea of a warm, loving relation with God is old as the *Rg-veda* itself[152] India is spoken of as a companion,[153] as father and mother.[154] The sage feels so close and intimate with Indra that he dares to hold on to the jem of Indra's

148 nigamakalpatarorgalitam phalam, .1.1.3a
K S Tripathi translates the above expression as "matured fruit", the idea being that when a fruit is fully ripe it falls to the ground by itself. See *A Cultural Study of the Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (Varanasi, B. H U. Research Publications, 1969), p. xviii

149. akhila-śruti-sāra, 1 2 3a.

150 sarva-veda-anta-sāra. 12 13 12a.

151 bhagavān brahma kārtsnyena trimanviksya manīsayā
tadadhyavasyat kūtastho ratirātman yato bhavet. 2 2 34

152. See A C. Bose, *Hymns from the Vedas* (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1966), pp 233-5. S Jaiswal, however is of the opinion that this intimacy between the seers and the *devas* was due to a belief in some sort of family relation between the two. See *The Origin and Development of Vaishnavism* (Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967), p 111 Even if we grant this to be the case with some gods, I wonder whether the same could be said of the relation of the seers to Varuna

153 yesamindro yuvā sakhā. 8 45,1 c.

154 tvam hi nah pitā vaso tvam mātā śatakrato babhūvitha
8.87(98).11 a. Compare this with *BhP* 1.11 7

garment, just as a little child would hold on to his father's[155] Agni is spoken of as a guest,[156] as a very dear friend[157] The sage prays that he may be as easily approachable as a father is to his son[158]

The attitude of *bhakti* is most conspicuous in the hymns addressed to Varuna, "the most impressive deity among all the Vedic Gods"[159] In these hymns, Varuna more than any other Vedic God, appears as a bold and a merciful God[160] The sage who composed these hymns is deeply aware of his own sinfulness due to which he is deprived of the company of Varuna[161] He remembers with remorse the days when he walked with Varuna, just as two friends would do[162]

Bhakti in the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad

Among the early Upaniṣads, the *Śvetāśvatara* is the only one that explicitly teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*.[163] It refers to the ultimate cause in personalistic terms[164] It is only by His grace that man can behold Him,[165] who is the kindly one,[166] the bountifull,[167] the giver of blessings[168] Man is called upon to have *bhakti* towards God,[169] to resort to Him who is the shelter of all[170]

155 pitурna putrah sicamā rabhe ta indra
svādisthāya girā sacivah 3 53,2 b

156 viśvesāmatithirmānusānām 4 1.20 a.

157 prestham vo atithim stuse mitramiva priyam. 8 84.1a.

158 sa nah piteva sūnave'gne supāyano bhava. 1.1 9a

159 H D. Griswold, *The Religion of the Rigveda* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, rep 1971), p. 111.

160. *Ibid*, pp. 121-33.

161 Cfr 7 86 2

162 Cfr. 7.88.5

163 The *Katha*-and the *Mundaka-upaniṣad* do not speak of *bhakti*, but only of its counterpart, i e, grace See S. Anand, "The Upaniṣhadic Theology of Salvation", *Paths* II-3, pp 15-6

164 E. g, deva (1 3 a), iśa (1.8 a), maheśvara (4.10 a), īśāna (4 11 b), prabhu (3 12 a), purusa (ibid).

165. tamakratum paśyati vītaśoko dhātuprasādāt 3.20 b. See also 6 21 a (deva-prasāda)

166 śiva, 3 5 a

167. bhagavān, 3 11 b.

168. vara-da, 4 11 b

169. yasya deve parā bhaktih ..6 23

170. tam mumuksurvai śaranamaham prapadye. 6.18 b.

Thus in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* we have the key ideas of *bhakti*, though only as seeds waiting to sprout and grow to full maturity.[171] These ideas are further developed in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and are given their fullest exposition in the *BhP*, which deservedly calls its teaching as *trayī-vidyā*, i e , the wisdom of the three Vedas.[172]

Conclusion

The dialogue between Sūta and the sages begins with a question about that which is the ultimate good of man [173] In answer to their question, Sūta recites to them the *BhP*,[174] the Purāna which was taught precisely for the highest good of mankind [175] The *BhP* teaches that the highest love for Bhagavān Hari constitutes the highest good of man. Man attains *siddhi* in *nirguṇa-bhakti* Since *bhakti* alone can give meaning to his live, it is the highest, nay, the only goal (*artha*) to which man can fruitfully direct all his endeavours But this is not left to his option He is obliged to attain it. It is his duty (*dharma*), his highest duty (*para-dharma*) This is not only in keeping with the teaching of the Vedas, but also corresponds to man's deepest being Hence this *dharma* comes not just from an external imposition, but flows from the nature of man. It is intrinsic to him Hence in *bhakti*, and in *bhakti* alone, does he experience *ātma-tuṣṭi*

171. Cfr Anand, *art. cit.*, pp. 18-9.

172. dharmam bhāgavatam śuddham traividyam ca guṇāśrayam. 6 2 24 b.

173. puṃsāmekāntataḥ śreyas 1 1.9 b

174 See 1.3.40-5.

175 niḥśreyasya lokasya dhanyam svastyayanam mahat 1.3.41 a.

वासुकिपुराणस्य कालः पुराणेषु स्थानञ्च

By

अनन्तराम शास्त्री

[This article deals with the time of the *Vāsuki-Purāna* and its place in the purānic literature In the post-colophon of the manuscript of the *Vāsuki-Purāna* the time of the Ms is given as चैत्रशुक्ला सोमे लिखित शुभ. *The Vāsuki-Purāna* is a part of a work called *Bhuvanakośa varnanodyota,* which is again a part of the *Bhrngīśa-samhitā* whose date is given by M. A. Stein in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library Jammu* as 1809 Therefore it may be surmised that the date of the manuscripts of the *Vāsuki-Purāna* is 1807 S V The writer has also given some more evidences from *Brhat-Kathāmañjarī,Saritsāgara* etc to fix the date of the *Vāsuki-Purāna.*

Then he discusses the place of the *Vāsuki-Purāna* in the purānic literature. According to him the *Vāsuki-Purāna* is neither an Upapurāna nor a Bauddha or Jain Purāna It is merely a local Purāna of Kashmir, like the *Nīlamata-Purāna.* It mainly deals with the place, called Vāsuki of the serpent King Vāsuki situated in Kashmir, as is written in its śloka 214 इद पुराण परम वासुके पन्नगप्रभो.'']—Ed.

वासुकिपुराणस्य पुष्पिका:

वासुकिपुराणस्य कालनिर्धारणमतीव जटिल वर्तते, यतोहि पुराणस्यैतस्य मूलाधारमेव नेदानी यावदह प्राप्तुमशक्नुवम् यदि भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतस्योपलब्धिरभविष्यत्, तर्हि कालनिर्धारणमपि सुगममभविष्यत्, पर यथासम्भवं प्रयासेनापि नाहं भुवनकोवर्णनोद्योत प्राप्नुवम् । वासुकिपुराणपाण्डुलिपेरन्ते लिखित वर्तते—'सं० ।।७।। चै० शु० ८ सोमे लि० । शुभम् ।' पाण्डुलिपिषु प्राय. वैक्रमसवत्सरस्यैवोल्लेख: क्रियते, यद्यय वैक्रमसंवत्सर एव स्यात्, तर्हि केवलं सप्तनिर्देशेन न हि ज्ञायते किञ्चिदपि। एवमनुमीयते—यत्प्रायो वर्तमानसवत्सरस्योल्लेखोऽस्माभिरन्यैश्चापि शतकं विहाय सक्षेपतो-

ऽग्निमाङ्कानामेव केवलं क्रियते, तदनुसृत्यैव पाण्डुलिपिलेखकेनापि केवलं संवत्सरस्याग्रे सप्ताङ्क एवङ्कितो भवेत्, परमिदानीं शतकस्यानुमानं कथं क्रियेत ?

भृङ्गीशसंहिता—

भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतन्तु न लब्धम्, परमेतत्प्रतीयते यद् भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतं भृङ्गीशसंहितान्तर्गतं वर्तते, यतोहि भृङ्गीशसंहितापाण्डुलिपेरन्ते लिखितं वर्तते—'इति श्रीभृङ्गीशसंहितायां भैरवीभैरवसंवादे भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योते मरणानुस्मृतिप्रश्ने मृतितत्त्वानुस्मरणे फलानुकीर्तनं नाम द्वादशः पटलः।' एतदनुसृत्य एम०ए० स्टीन महोदयैर्विरचिते जम्बुस्थ श्रीरघुनाथमन्दिरपुस्तकालयस्थे संस्कृतपाण्डुलिपिसूचीपत्रेऽङ्कितेषु भृङ्गीशसंहिताख्येऽपि केदारनाथमाहात्म्यस्य लिपिकालः '१८०९' इति निर्दिष्टो[1] वर्तते।

तदनुसारेण वासुकिपुराणस्यान्ते सप्ताङ्केनाङ्कितेन संवत्सरेण १८०७ एवानुमीयते, यतोहि ज्यौतिषशास्त्रानुसारमपि १८०७ संवत्सरे चैत्रशुक्लाष्टम्याञ्च सोमवासर एवासीत्, यथाङ्कितं वर्तते वासुकिपुराणस्यान्ते—'सं० ।७।। चै० शु० ८ सोमे लि०। शुभम्[2]।" अन्यच्च भृङ्गीशसंहितायां केदारमाहात्म्यस्य लिपिकालः '१८०९' इत्यङ्कितम्। भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतस्य भृङ्गीशसंहितान्तर्गतत्वात्, वासुकिपुराणस्य च भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतान्तर्गतत्वात् वासुकिपुराणस्य लिपिकालः १८०७ एव प्रतीयते।

धरोपालस्य ताम्रपत्रम्—

जम्मूप्रदेशस्थभद्रवाहान्तर्गत 'गाठा' इति नामधेये प्रसिद्धस्थाने वासुकिमन्दिरमेकं वर्तते—इदानीं यावत्। यस्य निर्माणं धरीपालेति नामधेयः कोऽपि

१. M. A. Stein, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mamuscripts in the Raguath Temple Library, Jammu.* Lahore, 1884, p. 210.

ग्रन्थाङ्कः	ग्रन्थानाम,	कर्तृनाम	पत्राणि	श्लोकाः	लिपिकालः
३६५७ख	भृङ्गीशसंहितायां केदारमाहात्म्यम्	×	६	अक्षराणां २४।२०	१८०९

२. काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालय के ज्योतिष प्राध्यापक डा० रामचन्द्र पाण्डेय का पत्र मैंने पञ्चाङ्ग साधन विधि से अहर्गण निकालकर तिथि-वार का ज्ञान किया। संयोगवश संवत् १८०७ चैत्रशुक्ल अष्टमी को सोमवार ही मिल रहा है।

साधित अहर्गण ३७०१ चक्र २०
शक १६७२

'वारः स्यात्' इत्यादि नियम से

२० × ५ = १०० + ३७०१ = ३८०१ + ७ = शेष ०

अर्थात् गत रविवार वर्तमान सोमवार।

राजाकारयत्। तेनैव तस्मिन् मठे पूजकद्वय नियुक्तम्, निर्वाहार्थञ्च ब्रह्मानन्द-सागरनिति नाम्ने पूजकाय चतुश्शतबीघा कृपारामटिड्डानेति नाम्ने पूजकाय च शतद्वयबीघा परिमिता भूमि. प्रदत्तासीत्, एतदेवोल्लिख्य ताम्रपत्रमेकमपि प्रदत्तमासीत्, यत्तु कुलपरम्परयेदानी यावत्—वर्तमानपूजकगृहे वर्तते, तद्गृहे—एव वासुकिपुराणपाण्डुलिपिरपि विद्यते, यत्प्रतिलिपिर्मया कृतासीत्। पूर्वोक्त ताम्रपत्रे लिखित वर्तते—'ॐ[1] स्वस्ति सम्वत् १० वैशाखप्रविष्टे १ श्रीमहाराजे धारीपाले गाठे विच श्रीनागे वासुकि दी प्रतिष्ठा कीत्ती। 'एतदनुसृत्य निर्णीयते—यन्महाराजधरीपालमहोदयैर्दशसख्याके सवत्सरे वैशाखस्य च प्रथम तारिकाया जम्बुस्थभद्रवाहान्तर्गतगाठेति नाम्नि स्थाने मठं सस्थाप्य श्रीवासुकि-नागस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता तत्र।

अत्रापि 'सम्वत्' शब्दस्याग्रे दश (१०) इत्येव लिखितं वर्तते, न शतकस्योल्लेख। वसुकिपुराणस्यान्तेऽपि सप्त (७) इत्येव, न शतकम्। ताम्रपत्र वासुकिपुराणयोर्मूलस्रोतोऽप्येकमेव वासुकिमठपूजकगृहम्। तदेतदेव प्रतीयते श्री एम० ए० स्टीनमहोदयविरचितसूचीपत्रेऽङ्कितेन भृङ्गीशसहिताया केदार-माहात्म्यस्य लिपिकालेन, यत्-ताम्रपत्रेऽङ्कितेन दशसख्याकेन '१८१०' एवञ्च वासुकिपुराणस्यान्ते लिखितेन सप्तसख्याकेन '१८०६' संवत्सर एव गृह्यते। पाण्डुलिपे परिशीलनेनापि लिपिरियं नातिप्राचीना नातिनवीना वा विक्रमस्येकोनविंशतिशताब्धा एव प्रतीयते। एतेनास्य प्रतिलिपिकालः १८०७ सवत्सरोऽनुमीयते।

जीमूतवाहनकथा—

जीमूतकेतुजीमूतवाहनयो. कथयाः वासुकिपुराणस्य प्रारम्भो विद्यते, या कथाष्टदशोत्तरैकशतश्लोकपर्यन्तमस्ति। जीमूतवाहनकथोल्लेखो बृहत्कथा-

१. ताम्रपत्रप्रतिलिपि

ॐ श्री राजधारी पाल

ॐ स्वस्ति सम्वत् १० वैशाख प्रविष्टे १ श्री महाराजे धरीपाले गाडे विच श्रीनागे वासुकि दी प्रतिष्ठा कीत्ती। खेत्तर आले ६०० सौकडी श्री नागे जी दी पूजा लेई जने दो ब्रह्मानन्दे तथा कृपारामे गी सकल्प करी दित्ता। ब्यौरा—खेत्तर आले ४०० ब्रह्मानन्दे सागरा ने की, खेत्तर आले २०० कृपारामे डिड्डाने की। जब ताईं चन्द्र-सूर्य स्थिर हैं, तब ताईं दोनी ब्राह्मणे श्रीनागे वासके जी दे पुजाले दे पुत्रे-पौत्रे खानी, इना दे कुल कच्छा छुडाये, नरका दा अधिकारी, कुल नष्ट होवै।

इल अगेरे दा पुडीरवशे धर्मपाल ना।

स्वदत्ता परदत्ता य. हरेत् वसुन्धराम्।
षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया जायते कृमि।

यह धर्मपालना—शुभम्-शुभम्।

नागानन्दबृहत्कथाश्लोकसंग्रहावदानकल्पलताबृहत्कथामञ्जरीकथासरित्सागर-वेतालपञ्चविंशति नामधेयेषु पुस्तकेषु दृश्यते। बृहत्कथालेखकगुणाढ्यस्यास्तित्वं ६०० खिष्टात्पूर्वं सप्तमशताब्द्यां नागानन्दलेखक श्रीहर्षवर्धना[१]स्याष्टमनवम-शताब्द्यां बृहत्कथाश्लोकसंग्रहलेखक[२]बुधस्वामिनोऽवदानकल्पलताबृहत्कथा-मञ्जरीलेखकक्षेमे[३]न्द्रस्यैकादशशताब्द्यां कथासरित्सागरलेखकसो[४]मदेवस्याप्यै-कादशशताब्द्यां वेतालपञ्चविंशतिकालेखकशिव[५]दासस्य च द्वादशशताब्द्या-मस्तित्वमासीत्। अनुमीयते यज्जीमूतवाहनस्यास्तित्वं ६०० खिष्टात्पूर्वमासीत्। **सोमदेवस्य कथासरित्सागरो वासुकिपुराणञ्च, पौर्वापर्यम्**—

जीमूतवाहनकथाया अस्तित्वे पुरातने सत्यपि वासुकिपुराणस्य कः कालः? इति प्रश्ने समुत्पन्ने ब्रूमः—एकादशशताब्द्यां सोमदेवकृतस्य कथा-सरित्सागरस्य पञ्चोत्तरशतैः श्लोकैर्वासुकिपुराणस्य श्लोकानां पूर्णसाम्यादेकस्य परस्मिन् प्रभावो निगदव्याख्यात एव। एतेषु श्लोकेषूभयोरपि ग्रन्थयोः पाठ-भेदस्य सूक्ष्मविमर्शे विहिते वासुकिपुराणस्यैव कथासरित्सागरात्पूर्ववर्तित्वं विलोकितं मया। अस्य पाठभेदविमर्शस्य निर्गलितोऽर्थः—एवम्—

१. वासुकिपुराणे पादपूर्त्यर्थं 'वै, च, अपि तु, एव प्रभृतिनां निराकरणं कथासरित्सागरे विचार्य विचार्य विधाय छन्दांसि छन्दांसि सुन्दरतराव्या-पादितानि। उदाहरणतः—'जनको वै' इति स्थाने 'जनयिता[७]' इति, 'स च

१. (अ) कीथ ए. बी, संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास, (अनुवादक—डॉ० मंगल-देव शास्त्री) द्वितीय संस्करण, दिल्ली, १९६७, पृ० ३३०.
(आ) उपाध्याय बलदेव, संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास, अष्टम संस्करण, वाराणसी, १९६८, पृ० ४३३,

२. (अ) Macdonell A. A., A History of Sanskrit Literature, Delhi, 1962, p. 305
(आ) उपरिवत्, तृतीय संस्करण, १९५३, पृ० ४४८।

३. (अ) कीथ ए. बी., संस्कृतसाहित्य का इतिहास, (अनुवादक—डॉ० मंगलदेव शास्त्री) द्वितीय संस्करण, दिल्ली, १८६७, पृ० ३३८,
(आ) उपाध्याय बलदेव, संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास, अष्टम संस्करण, वाराणसी, १९६८, पृ० ४३६,

४. (अ) उपरिवत्, पृ० ३४३,
(आ) उपरिवत्, पृ० ४३६,

५. (अ) उपरिवत्, पृ० ३४९,
(आ) उपरिवत्, पृ० ४४१,

६. (अ) उपरिवत्, पृ० ३५८,
(आ) ,, पृ० ४५३.

७. वा. पु. मा. श्लो. १

हृष्टात्मा[1]' इति स्थाने 'स प्रहृष्टात्मा' इति, 'पृथिवी सकलामपि[2]' इति स्थाने 'पृथिवीमखिला सखे इति, 'तस्थौ चाश्रमपदे[3]' इति स्थाने 'तस्थावाश्रमपदे' इति, 'त्वत्र[4]' इति स्थाने 'तत्र' इति, पाठः कथासरित्सागरे दृश्यते। यदि नाम वासुकिपुराणकार कथासरित्सागरात्पाठमनुकुर्यात्, नहि स परिपूर्णवृत्तं विकुर्यात् पादपूर्त्यर्थञ्च निरर्थकान् पदान् प्रयुञ्ज्येत। तस्मात् कथासरित्सागरस्यैव लेखको वासुकिपुराणस्य छन्दासि संशोध्य-सशोध्य पादपूर्त्यर्थकप्रयुक्तपदान्निराकरोदिति कल्पनीयम्।

२ यत्र नाम वासुकिपुराणेऽशुद्धा. सन्धय· प्रयुक्ताः, कथासरित्सागरे तत्र शुद्धा· सन्धयो विहिताः। यथा—'जीमूतकेतु राजाभ्युपेत्य[5]' इत्यत्र विसर्गस्य रेफे रेफस्य लोपे कृते 'ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽण.' इति सूत्रेण दीर्घो न विहित. स च कथासरित्सागरकारेण विहित। यथा—'जीमूतकेतू राजाभ्युपेत्य' इति।

३ वासुकिपुराणे व्याकरणच्युतिदोषानपि कथासरित्सागरकारः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परिष्करोति।

यथा 'अदरिद्री[6]' इति स्थाने स्त्री लिङ्गे 'अदरिद्रा' इति। एवमेव नपुसकलिङ्गस्य प्राभृतस्य विशेषणत्वेन 'तम्'[7] इति स्थाने 'तत्' इति।

४ कथासरित्सागरे वासुकिपुराणस्य छन्दोदोषा अपि स प्रयासं परिष्कृताः।

तद्यथा—'पूर्वजन्मकथामेता शस मे कौतुकपराम्[8]' इत्यत्र श्लोके 'षष्ठ गुरुर्ज्ञेय सर्वत्र लघु पञ्चमम्' इत्यनुष्टुपछन्दसो लक्षणमनुसृत्य 'कौतुकपराम्' इत्यत्र षष्ठे—अक्षरे ककारे गुरुत्वमभीष्टमासीत्, तच्च कथासरित्सागरे 'कौतुक हि मे' इति पाठे [illegible] दूरीकृत.।

५ वासुकिपुराणे 'ईश्वर उवाच[9]' इत्यादीना गद्याशानां प्रयोगोऽस्ति न च कथासरित्सागरे। एतादृशानां गद्याशाना प्राचीनपद्यग्रन्थेषु महाभारतादिषु प्रयोगो दृश्यते न च नवीनेषु ग्रन्थेषु।

६ कथासरित्सागर एव जीवभूतवाहनकथाया द्विधोल्लेख.। प्रथमोल्लेखे वासुकिपुराणपाठस्य साम्यम्। द्वितीयोल्लेखे सैव कथा प्रौढतरया ललिततरया च

१ वा पु. मा. श्लो ७
२. वा पु मा. श्लो १८
३. वा पु मा श्लो ३१
४. वा पु मा. श्लो ६२
५. वा पु मा. श्लो ४
६ वा पु मा श्लो १५
७ वा. पु मा. श्लो ८२
८ वा पु मा श्लो. ३९, एवमेव वासुकिपुराणे १२ श्लोकेऽपि द्रष्टव्यम्
९. वा० पु. मा. ३९ श्लोकान्तरम्

शैल्योपनिबद्धा। इत्थं प्रतिभाति यत्परम्परायाम् वासुकिपुराणम् [illegible] सोमदेव. सन्तोष न जगाम स्वकाव्यचातुर्यञ्च प्रदर्शयितुकाम [illegible] तामेव कथा पुनर्निबद्धयामास। यदि नाम वासुकिपुराणकार. कथा-[illegible] गृह्णीयात् सति परिष्कृततरे प्रौढतरे च संस्करणेऽसौऽपरिपक्वमकरो, तानपि अनुकरणे चापि उपर्युक्तदिशा न विकुर्यात्।

७ किं बहुना 'पृथिवी राकलापि[1] हि' इति शिथिलरचनायामपि [illegible] जनसंहति' इति सुश्लिष्टा रचना 'मदनादेवबशगाशवरेन्द्रम्' [illegible] 'मदनावेशवशगाशबरेशम्' इति चमत्कृतिपूर्ण पाठञ्च विलोक्य वासुकि-[illegible] त्कथासरित्सागरस्य परवर्तित्वे न संशयलेशोऽपि वर्तते[2]स्माक मतिरि।

क्षेमेन्द्रस्य बृहत्कथामञ्जरी वासुकिपुराणञ्च—

इत्थं वासुकिपुराणस्यैकादशशताब्द्याः पूर्ववर्तित्वं निश्चि[illegible] शताब्द्यामपि सोमदेवस्य पितुः क्षेमेन्द्रादपि पूर्ववर्तित्वं वासुकिपुरा[illegible] निम्नलिखितप्रमाणाभ्यामनुमीयते—

१ बृहत्कथाया[3] जीमूतवाहनाख्यापिकाया प्रारम्भिकेषु [illegible] श्लोकेषु वासुकिपुराणस्य सप्तोत्तरशतश्लोकाना सारो दत्त.। [illegible] विस्तरो वासुकिपुराणे कृत इति कथं न मन्यत इति चेत् ब्रूम'—

शैल्या कृत्रिमत्वेन बृहत्कथाया एव परवर्तित्वम्। [illegible] प्रथमश्लोकेन[4] बृहत्कथायास्तस्यैवार्थस्य वाचकेन श्लोकेन कृतायां [illegible] 'साधु—मन स्वच्छस्फटिक' इत्यदृश्योपमानप्रदानेन बृहत्कथाया [illegible] प्रकटीभवति।

२ सोमदेवो वासुकिपुराणस्य बृहत्कथात. पूर्ववर्तित्वं जानाति [illegible] स्वपितुर्लिखिताया कथाया सत्या स वासुकिपुराणात्कथा विभिन्नां [illegible] स्वपितुर्ग्रन्थात्। नहि कारणं विना स्वपितुर्ग्रन्थं विहाय स [illegible] गृह्णीयात्तच्च कारणमत्र वासुकिपुराणस्य प्राचीनतरत्वमेव [illegible] तस्माद्वासुकिपुराणं बृहत्कथातोऽपि प्राचीनतरमेव।

१. वा० पु. म.. श्लो १५
२. वा० पु. मा. श्लो. ९८
३. बृहत्कथामञ्जरी, काव्यमाला, नरवाहनजन्मनि [illegible] पृ० १०७-११०
४. वा० पु. मा. श्लो १
५. बृहत्कथामञ्जरी, पृ० १०७, श्लो० ५०

वासुकिपुराणं नागानन्दश्च—

एवं वासुकिपुराणमेकादशशताब्द्या प्रारम्भादपि पूर्वतरवर्ति । किन्तु वासुकिपुराणे शङ्खचूडकथाया अन्यत्र सर्वत्र विस्तरतोऽपि दत्ताया अतिसक्षेपतो[1] निर्देशाद् वासुकिपुराणकाले शङ्खचूडकथा विश्रुतेति सिध्यति । वस्तुत: पूर्व शखचूडकथामजानता पाठकेन वासुकिपुराणस्यातिसक्षिप्तनिर्देशेन कथाया अर्थावबोधोऽपि न सम्भवति । तेन शङ्खचूडकथामेवाधारीकृत्य लिखितस्य नागानन्दनाटकस्य वासुकिपुराणात्प्राचीनतरत्वमेव सिध्यति ।

एव वासुकिपुराण नागानन्दस्य रचनात: परतर बृहत्कथातः पूर्ववर्ति चेति समासतो वक्तु शक्यते । सम्भवतः वासुकिपुराण सप्तमशताब्द्या एकादश-शताब्दाश्चान्तराले निर्मितम् । अतोऽधिकतर वासुकिपुराणरचनाकालसम्बन्धे प्रमाणाभावद् वक्तुं न शक्यते ।

वासुकिपुराणस्य पुराणेषु स्थानम्—

महापुराणपुराणोपपुराणबौद्धपुराणजैनपुराणेषु वासुकिपुराणस्य क्वचि-दपि नामनिर्देशो न वर्तते, यतो हि वस्तुतो वासुकिपुराण न पुराणं महापुराण-मुपपुराणं बौद्धपुराण जैनपुराणञ्चेति ।

अपि तु नीलमतपुराणवदेतल्लौकिकपुराण प्रतीयते ।

एतत्तु वासुकिपुराणस्यान्ते लिखितेन 'इति श्रीभुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योते काश्मीरखण्डे भद्राश्रमे वासुकिस्थानवर्णन नाम नवतितम पटल । इत्यशेनैव सिध्यति यद्वासुकिपुराण नैव स्वतन्त्र पुराणम्, एतत्तु भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्यो-तान्तर्गतकाश्मीरखण्डे वर्णितभद्राश्रमे वासुकिस्थानवर्णनमात्रमेव । वासुकि-पुराणस्य ११८ श्लोकादारभ्य २२२ श्लोकैरपि प्रतीयते, यत्रेश्वरो महादेवो देवी पार्वती सम्बोध्य कथयति यदेवं जीमूतवाहनेन तेन महात्मना स्वशरीरप्रदानेन पन्नगा उद्धृता । अथ गतमृत्युभीर्वासुकिः स्वराज्यं शास्ति । सुव्रते ! इदानी तस्य स्थानानि शृणु, यत्र-यत्र विद्याधर प्रासदेन स वासुकि. सस्थित इति ।

वासुकिपुराणस्य स्थानीयपुराणत्वम्

सुस्पष्टं जायते—यदेतत्रैव स्वतन्त्रं पुराणमपितु भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतस्य वासुकिस्थानवर्णन नाम नवतितम पटल एव, पर ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य निर्वचना-नुसार 'पुरा-एतत्-अभूत्' अत एव वासुकिपुराणमपि पुराणं वर्तते, अन्यच्च जैनमतानुसार 'पुरातन पुराणं स्यात्-महन्महदा श्रयात् । 'इति पुराणलक्षण-मनुसृत्यापि वासुकिपुराणं पुराणमेव । वासुकिपुराणे 'इदं पुराणं परमं वासुकेः पन्नगप्रभो.[2]' । इति वाक्येन ग्रन्थस्यास्य पुराणत्वे न संदेह. ।

१. वा० पु. मा. श्लो. ११०-११५
२. वा० पु. मा. श्लो० २१४

अतो वासुकिपुराणस्य पुराणेषु स्थानीयपुराणत्वेन महत्त्वपूर्णस्थानं विद्यते, यथा नीलमतपुराणस्य काश्मीरप्रदेशे स्थानीयपुराणत्वेन महत्त्व वर्तते ।

वासुकिपुराणस्य भाषा शैली च

वाक्येनैकेन वासुकिपुराणस्य भाषा शैली च सैव या पुराणाना सामान्यत । यथास्माभिः कालनिर्णयप्रसंगे सोद्धरण प्रदर्शित वासुकिपुराणे पाठपूर्त्यर्थं प्रयुक्ताना 'वै, च, अपि, तु, एवं, प्रभृतीना पदाना बाहुल्यमस्ति । सन्धयोऽशुद्धा अपि कृताः, व्याकरणच्युतिदोषा अपि दृश्यन्ते रचनायाञ्च शैथिल्य लभामहे ।

वासुकिपुराणे भाषागता काश्चन विशेषता दृश्यन्ते । यथा 'आप्नुयात्' इत्यस्य भूतकालार्थे प्रयोगः[1] । 'कथयस्व' इत्यात्मनेपदेऽपि प्रयोगो द्रष्टव्य [2] । क्वचित्-षष्ठीप्रयोगोऽपि विशिष्ट [3] । एकत्र स्नानक' मिति प्रयोगोऽपि चिन्त्य [4] । क्वचित्सन्ध्यभाव आर्ष [5] । 'दा' धातो. सयोगेऽपि सप्तमीप्रयोगः 'यावदाचन्द्रतारकम्' इति प्रयोगश्च चिन्त्य.[6] ।

वासुकिपुराणे—उपमाप्रयोगः सर्वाधिकः[7] । क्वचिद् यमकालकारोऽपि दृश्यते[8] । अनुप्रासादयोऽर्लकाराः प्रायशः सर्वत्र सुलभाः, यदा कदार्थान्तरन्यासोऽपि दृश्यते[9] । वासुकिपुराण रसकाव्यं नास्ति, तथाप्यानुषगिकरूपेण यत्र-तत्र रसस्य सुन्दरं प्रतिपादनम्[10]—

'तत्काल च तयोस्तुल्य यूनोरन्योन्यदर्शनम् ।
अभून्मनो मृगामन्दवागुराबन्धसन्निभम् ॥'

१. वा पु मा. श्लो ११८ तथा ४६४
२. वा. पु मा. श्लो. १९४, १९६ तथा ३४९
३. तदेव, श्लो. २२९, २३० तथा २५३, ४५९
४. तदेव, श्लो. ३७४
५. तदेव, श्लो ४३६
६. तदेव, श्लो. ४४६
७ तदेव, श्लो. १३, २५, २९, ३३, ४७, ६४, ८८ तथा ९१
८ ,, श्लो. ३७
९. ,, श्लो. २५
१०. ,, श्लो. ३४

A DEVĪ IN FORM OF LIṄGA

By

GIORGIO BONAZZOLI

[सामान्यतः पुराणेष्वितरग्रन्थेषु च शिवलिङ्गस्यैव निर्देशः प्राप्यते न तु विष्णुलिङ्गस्य देवीलिङ्गस्य वा निर्देश. प्राप्यते । एतस्मिन् विषये प्रकाशिते स्वनिबन्धे (पुराणम्, जनवरी १९७८ अङ्के) लेखकेन पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतसृष्टिखण्डस्य 'देवीलिङ्गेषु' (६१ ५७) इत्यादिश्लोकस्य विवेचन कृतम् । अस्मिन् निबन्धे तस्यैवार्थस्य द्योतकस्य भविष्यपुराणश्लोकस्य विवेचन विहितम् । लेखकेन स्थापयितु प्रयत्नो विहितो यद् शिवलिङ्गवदन्येषा देवाना देवीनामपि लिङ्गानि वर्णितानि सन्ति ।]

Among the several meanings of the word *'liṅga'* one refers to a visible aniconic representation of God. Its common use, in this sense, is in relation to Śiva shaped in a symbol resembling a phallus with or without *yoni* or *ādhāra*. The purānic literature contains a peculiar meaning of the word *'liṅga'* which puts it in direct connection with a feminine deity. The cases in which such a connection between the term *liṅga* and a *devī* takes place are not many, but they seem enough to prove that in some circles, at least, *liṅga-s* were used also to represent a *devī*

1 **Devīliṅga in the Padma Purāṇa**

देवीलिङ्गेषु सर्वेषु कृत्वा देवगृह नरः ।
सुरत्व प्राप्नुयाल्लोके देव्या. सर्वसुखोद्भवे ॥

(Srsti Khaṇḍa 61 57–Mor ed.)

"If a man builds a temple to any image of a *devī* (*devīliṅga*), becomes a *sura* in the *devī*'s heaven, which is origin of every happiness."

I have already studied this *śloka* in *Purāna*, Vārānasī, XX. I (Jan., 1978), pp. 121-29 Its context seems to suggest that the meaning of the word *devīliṅga*, which amazingly joins two concepts apparently not associable, is simply 'a *devī*'s image'. Such a word, indeed, in this context is parallel to *Viṣnuliṅga* (ib. 46 ff) and to *Śivaliṅga* (ib. 53 ff), which in their turn are used as synonyms of *pratimā harer* (= Hari's image , *ib* 49 cd) and of *Harasya pratimā*

(=Hara's image; *ib.* 56ab) and it can unmistakably be understood as translated above Its meaning, however, seems to imply something more than merely 'a *devī*'s image', because the compound *'devīliṅga'* is, at least, unusual and if it has been used here, it must bear also an unusual significance. Had we only this *śloka* to solve over doubts we would not be able to proceed much further That was, in fact, the stage reached in the precedent note quoted above. Now we are in a position to continue a little further.

2 **Devīliṅga in the Bhavisya Purāṇa**

य कुर्याद्विष्णुप्रासाद ज्योतिर्लिङ्गस्य वा क्वचित् ।
सूर्यस्यापि विरञ्चेश्च दुर्गाया. श्रीधरस्य च ॥54॥

स्वय स्वकुलमुद्धृत्य कल्पकोटि वसेद्दिवि ।
स्वर्गाद् भ्रष्टो भवेद्राजा धनी पूज्यतमोऽपि च ॥55॥

देवीलिङ्गेषु योनौ च कृत्वा देवकुल नर ।
स्मरत्व प्राप्नुयाल्लोके पूजितो दिवि सर्वदा ॥56॥
(II 1.9 54 ff–Venk.)

(54) He who builds somewhere a temple of Viṣṇu or of a *jyotirliṅga* and also of Sūrya, Brahmā, Durgā and Śrīdhara,

(55) rescues his own family and he himself lives in heaven for millions of *kalpa*-s, if he is fallen from heaven, he becomes a rich king much honoured

(56) A man by building an abode to a *yoni* and the characteristic marks of a *devī (devīliṅga)* will be remembered, venerated for ever in heaven "

This last *śloka*, the 56th, which contains the word *devīliṅga* we have already found in the Padma purāṇa, is not completely incorporated into the context The previous two *śloka*-s speak of the merits one gets by building temples in honour of Viṣṇu Śiva Sūrya, Brahmā and Durgā Were it not for the substitution of Brahmā in place of Ganeśa we would say that they speak of the *pañcāyatana* group of gods for whom temples are to be built. *Śloka* 56, instead, insists on the importance of building an abode to the *devī* and seems to be a mere enlargement of what already expressed in *śloka* 54 where Durgā is mentioned along with the other gods of the *pañcāyatana* group. Moreover, the names of the five gods, mentioned in the genitive case, are enumerated one by one in the first two *pāda*-s *śloka* 56, instead, follows its own way and speaks of *devīliṅga*-s in the plural and in the locative case. These preliminary remarks

constitute already a first vague hint that something is not completely matching between the first two *śloka*-s and the last one, the 56 th. This fact would pass completely unobserved, had we not the other *śloka* in the Padma purāna quoted above Their collation shows that in fact the two *śloka*-s are one and the same

Padma (V 61 57)	देवीलिपुङ्गे	सर्वेषु	कृत्वा	देवगृह	नर ।
Bhavisya (II 1 9 56)	देवीलिङ्गेषु	योनौ च	कृत्वा	देवकुल	नर. ॥
Padma (do)	सुरत्व	प्राप्नुयाल्लोके	देव्याः सर्वसुखोद्भवे ।		
Bhavisya (do)	स्मरत्वं	प्राप्नुयाल्लोके	पूजितो दिवि सर्वदा ॥		

Although similar, as is apparent from their collation, the two *śloka*-s have, however, some major differences which can lead us a little further in their understanding The most important of such discrepancies is that the *śloka* in the Bhavisya looks openly tantric At a closer examination we discover that in the Padma purāna one is required to build a temple (*devagṛha*) to the goddess and is promised a supermundane status in the *devī*'s heaven, which will satisfy him in any field. In the Bhavisya purāna, instead, the devotee is asked only to construct an abode (*devakula*)[1] which can be also an open-air small shrine, in which a *yoni* and the characteristic (feminine) marks of the *devī* are venerated. And the merits he will get are not projected in a superior place or situation, it is said, instead, that he will become the centre of remembrance of all the people in this world and will be object of veneration for ever in heaven A heavenly happiness is, then, prospected in the first case, a terrestrial life and perennial laud in the second. A well-established religious building is requested in the Padma, a simple and modest construction in the Bhavisya Moreover, the *Srṣṭi Khanda* of the Padma purāna induces us to interpret '*develingesu sarvesu*' parallely to all the previous cases in that context like '*śivalinga*' '*visnulinga*', (see above) and translate then as '*devī*'s image' In the Bhavisya purāna, instead, where the *śloka* is not closely linked with the previous *śloka*-s, as we have seen, the word '*yonau*', with its indisputable meaning, influences also the meaning of the preceeding '*devīlingesu*' which, therefore, should be understood in a different meaning than in the Padma purāna. The two *śloka*-s, then, even if originally one, as it appears from their collation, assumed not only two different forms but also two different meanings. Who is

1. Rādhākāntadeva, *Śabdakalpadruma* Delhi, Vārānasī, Patna 1961 (Rep), s v. *devakula* and *caitya* defines it as '*bināmukham* or *mukharahita*'.

responsible for such a discrepancy ? As the difference is mainly due to tantric colouring of the Bhaviṣya which is absent in the Padma it is reasonable to ask whether such tantricism was induced in the Bhaviṣya or was removed from the Padma. As we have seen, the *śloka* is somehow strange to the context and keeps its strong tantric colouring in the Bhaviṣya purāṇa, while it seems to be tempered in the Padma purāṇa either to reduce its clear and 'offensive' tantricism or to make it fit the context both in style and meaning. So by its strangeness to the context in the Bhaviṣya we deduce that it did not originally belong to it and by its being tempered, as it seems, in the Padma, we conclude that it was not original here either. As it was not present in either the purāṇa-s in the beginning we are induced to think that in fact the *śloka* was not borrowed by one purāṇa from the other. It is in fact more probable that both the purāṇa-s have taken it from a common source representative of a bardic or other tradition. Both the purāṇa-s have taken it, the Bhaviṣya keeping it closer to the original, it seems, the Padma altering it according to its needs.

The word '*devīliṅga*', then, had already been accepted and used before these *adhyāya-s* of the Bhaviṣya and the *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa* were composed. It was common among certain circles and, we have to suppose, it was extensively spread, as the two purāṇa-s, which were written in different places and times, took it indipendently. There was, then, a tradition about this word in the context of repairing or building temples—as it appears from our texts—and it had, perhaps, a technical meaning. Could it suggest also that a *devī* can be venerated under the shape of a *liṅga* ? That is what we are going to examine now.

3. Liṅgasthā devī—Liṅgākārā Sarasvatī

That a *devī's* image can be shaped in the form of a *liṅga* is affirmed by Vāmana purāṇa, Sa. Mā., (Crit. ed.) 19.4 cd as we shall see below. As it is the only text so explicit it should be put in the whole purāṇic context to understand it in its real meaning. We should then proceed by steps.

First of all, we know that although a *liṅga*, as an aniconical representation of God, refers usually to Śiva only, it can represent also other deities.

कलौ महेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद् गदाधरः ।
लिङ्गरूपोऽभवत्तं च वन्दे श्रीप्रपितामहम् ॥
(Vāyu P. II. 100. cd-ef–Veṅk)

"Since during *Kaliyuga* the people had become followers of Maheśvara, therefore Gadādhara (=Viṣnu) took the shape of a *linga (lingarūpa)*, that splendid Prapitāmaha I venerate"

अतो गदाधरो विष्णुर्गयाया मुक्तिदः स्थितः।
तस्य देहो लिङ्गरूपी स्थितः ॥
(Garuda P 82.6—Jīv)

"Therefore Viṣnu Gadādhara bestower of *mukti* remained at Gayā His body was in the shape of a *linga*. .."

Claude Jacques in his Introduction to the *Gayāmāhātmya*[2] affirms that at Gayā Brahmā is represented by a *linga* Nārada purāna II 46 53 ab affirms it also for Viṣnu and other gods, and in Rāmnagar, Vārānasī, there is at least one temple of Vyāsa in which the great *muni* is venerated in the shape of *linga*. These instances show that a *linga* can be the symbol or aniconical image of any god Is it possible that it represents a *devī* also? In fact as Śiva is shaped aniconically by means of a *linga*, so a *devī* can also be venerated in formless stones We have *svayambhumūrti*-s of the goddess attested in the 7th century, which although not called *linga* s yet are the exact feminine correspondent of the *linga*-s and have approximately the same shape[3]

There were, moreover, two strong pushes specially from tantric circles towards an identification of the *devī* with Śiva or Viṣnu, her masculin counterparts One, attested in the *Todalatantra*, saw in the *devī* the exact correspondent and the identical form of a god.

श्रीदेवी उवाच—

दशावतार देवेश ब्रूहि मे जगता गुरो ॥7॥
इदानी श्रोतुमिच्छामि कथयस्व सुविस्तरात्।
का वा देवी कथ भूता वद मे परमेश्वर ॥8॥

श्रीशिव उवाच—

तारा देवी नीलरूपा वगला कूर्ममूर्त्तिका।
धूमावती वराहं स्यात् छिन्नमस्ता नृसिटिका ॥9॥

2 *Gayāmāhātmya*, edition critique, traduction francaise et introduction par Claude Jacques, Pondichery, 1962, p LX (The Introduction is translated into English in *Purāna*, Vārānasi, vol XXI 2 (July, 1979) and XXII 1 (Jan., 1980)

3 Cfr J N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 1974 (3rd ed.), p 84

भुवनेश्वरी वामनः स्याद् मातङ्गी राममूर्त्तिका।
त्रिपुरा जामदग्न्यः स्याद् बलभद्रस्तु भैरवी ॥10॥
महालक्ष्मीर्भवेद् बुद्धो दुर्गा स्यात् कल्किरूपिणी।
स्वयं भगवती काली कृष्णमूर्त्तिः समुद्भवा ॥11॥
इति ते कथितं देव्यवतारं दशमेव हि।
(Toḍalatantra 10.7 ff.)

"The *devī* said :

O Lord of the *deva*-s, o *guru* of the worlds, tell me the ten *avatāra*-s. Now I wish to hear it, narrate them extensively. O Supreme Lord, tell me who was the *devī* and how she appeared.

Śiva said :

The blue-coloured goddess Tārā Vagalā took the shape of Kūrma, Dhūmavatī the form of Varāha, Chinnamasta of Nṛsiṁha, Bhuvaneśvarī of Vāmana, Mātaṅgī of Rāma, Tripura of Jāmadgni, Bhairavī of Balabhadra, Mahālakṣmi of Buddha, Durgā of Kalki, the divine Kālī herself was born in the form of Kṛṣṇa."

A goddess then can have, at least in some tantric circles, the same shape of a god, she can appear exactly like him, be a perfect substitute for him. The same external image of Kṛṣṇa or Rāma, for example, can represent both a god or a goddess.

The second push towards an identification of the *devī* with a masculin divine form comes from the iconography itself. The *ardhanārīśvara* type of Śiva constitutes already an example on this line. Here, however, although the statue is shaped in two equal parts, the prevalence is given to Śiva. These images, in fact, are statues of Śiva and not of the *devī*, properly speaking. A similar attempt of joining more gods in one single statue is found also for the *liṅga*-s. The very body of the *liṅga*, indeed, is formed of three parts; the lower, the middle, the higher. Each one of them, we are often informed, represents a different god : namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva respectively[4]. The *Śivopaniṣad* admits, instead, that the *devī* can also enter in the middle part of it.

4. *Mayamata*, Traite Sanskrit d' Architecture, Edition Critique, Traduction et Notes par Bruno Dagens, Pondichery, 2 voll., 1970, 1976, adh. 37.67; *Rauravāgama*, edited by N. R. Bhatt, Pondichery, 1972, XXVIII. 7ed. 12; see also *Kāraṇāgama* I.9.107-108a quoted in *Rauravāgama*, op. cit. II.15 fn. 4.

अधोभागे स्थितः स्कन्दः स्थिता देवी च मध्यत ।
ऊर्ध्वं रुद्रः क्रमाद्वापि ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरा ॥
(Śiva Up II 5—Mould)

"Skanda is situated in the lower part, the *devī* in the middle, Rudra in the higher or also Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara (respectively)"

The same concept is described in Kālikā purāna (Chowkamba ed) 76.88f but in a more impressive way It is said there that Vetāla and Bhairava went for a *pīṭhayātrā* and performed all the rituals in honour of the *devī* Mahāmāyā, who was pleased and decided to show herself to them in the following way

शिवलिङ्गं विनिर्भिद्य तदा प्रत्यक्षता गता ।
तस्या विनिर्गतायाः तु शिवलिङ्गं त्रिधाऽभवत् ॥88॥
भैरवो भैरवी चैति हेरुकश्च तथा त्रय ।
ता ददर्श तदा देवी वेतालो भैरवस्तदा ॥89॥

"Then having split asunder the *Śivalinga* she became visible, but by her coming out the *Śivalinga* became threefold the three Bhairava, Bhairavī, and Ganeśa (appeared) The Vetāla and Bhairava saw that *devī* "

The *devī* then is present, and therefore can be venerated, in a *Śivalinga* A sculpture at Vikrampur represents somehow this scene J N Banerjea[5] says that the image 'shows in its lower part a well carved Śiva *linga*, from the top of which emerges the half-length figure of a four-armed goddess with her front hands in the *dhyāna mudra* ' A *devī* is venerated in a *linga* also in the Śava-Śivā *mandira* at Vārānasī

The Kālikā purāna states that the *devī* should be venerated in a *linga*

लिङ्गस्था पूजयेद् देवी पुस्तकस्था तथैव च ।
स्थण्डिलस्था महामाया पादुकाप्रतिमासु च ॥
(Kālikā p. 58.31)

"Let one venerate the *devī* Mahāmāya present in the *linga* and in a book, present in an open ground (ready for sacrifice), in the *pādukā*-s (god's footprints) and in the images "

So at least some tantric circles have no difficulty in considering the *devī* as present in a *linga*. The Skanda purāna gives a theoretical support to this practice

5. *op. cit.*, p 508

लीयन्ते च विलीयन्ते महेशो लिङ्गरूपिणि।
प्रकृत्यन्तर्गतं लिङ्गं लिङ्गस्यान्तर्गता च सा ॥44॥
शक्त्या लिङ्गं च संछन्नं तथा सर्वमदृश्यत।
लिङ्गेन शक्तिः संछन्ना परस्परमवर्तत ॥45॥
(Skanda P, Mahes Kh., I. 10 44-45)

"The universes etc. dissolve and disappear in Mahesa who has the form of a *linga*. The *linga* disappeard in the *śakti* and she is hidden in the *linga*. Then every thing was seen as a *linga* covered by *śakti* and reciprocally *śakti* was covered by *linga*"

The Skanda purana is in fact concerned with the cosmic dimension of the symbol and with its philosophical implications in time of emission from, and absorption in, God, but the symbolic representation of Śiva as *linga* was also a continuous appeal to the reality that *śakti* (=*devī*) and *linga* were interchangeable

The Vamana purana, finally, affirms unequivocally that the goddess Sarasvati was venerated in the form of a *linga* by Sthānu

आश्रमो वै वसिष्ठस्य स्थाणुतीर्थे बभूव ह।
तस्य पश्चिमदिग्भागे विश्वामित्रस्य धीमत ॥3॥
यत्रेष्ट्वा भगवान् स्थाणुः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीम्।
स्थापयामास देवेशो लिङ्गाकारा सरस्वतीम् ॥4॥
(Vāmana P Sa Mā, 11.3-4—Crit.)

"Vasistha's hermitage was in Sthānutīrtha, and to its west that of the enlightened Visvamitra. There the Lord Sthānu, the chief of gods, performed a sacrifice, worshipped Sarasvatī and installed her in the form of a *linga*"[6]

The passage is extremely important for our purpose here From the precedent texts we had reached a kind of expectation, they, in fact, led us to think that in some cases *linga-s* could be used also to venerate a *devī* but they did not present any actual case. The Vāmana purana instead affirms it openly giving us the certainty that a *devī* can be represented through a *linga* Not only then one can venerate the *devī* as figured in the *yoni* or *ādhāra* of a *linga* or even as merely present in a *linga's* middle part One is entitled to see her as fully occupying the aniconic symbol of the *linga* (see Kālika purana) and can also install a *linga* to represent her

6. Translation of the All-India Kashiraj Trust.

But how ar did people use *liṅga-s* to venerate a *devī* ? The passages given in these pages seem to be the on'y ones available in literature and the people whom I proposed them were surprised and slow to accept them as they are out of common traditional understanding of *liṅga* In fact, we have to be careful in affirming whether there is an actual custom of representing a *devī* through a *liṅga*.

4 Lakṣmiliṅga—Urvaśiliṅga

The two examples we shall see now prove that by the very fact that a *devī* can be venerated under the shape of a *liṅga* does not follow that every time we find a feminine name attached to the word '*liṅga*' that *liṅga* represents a *devī*. Sometimes the meaning remains uncertain and vague.

a *Laksmīliṅga* The word is found in Kāsīkedāramāhātmya (22 86), a rather recent text which affirms in its colophons to belong to the Brahmavaivarta purāna, of which it says to be a *khila* From the context it appears that *liṅga* here means the aniconic symbol of Śiva and Laksmī refers most probably to Visnu's wife, of whom there are many references in the *Kāśīkedāramāhātmya*. The *śloka-s* in which such compound word is found are as follows

गौर्या सस्थापित लिङ्ग गौरीतीर्थंतटेऽस्ति वै ।
तत्रैव लक्ष्मीलिङ्ग च व्यासलिङ्ग च भार्गवम् ॥86॥
सनत्कुमारलिङ्गं च स्थापितं प्राङ्मयात्र वै ।
गङ्गातपनजावाणीस्थापित त्रिनदीश्वरम् ॥87॥
(Kāsīkedāramāh 22 86-87)

"The *liṅga* established by Gaurī is indeed on the sloping side of Gaurī *tīrtha*, and there also a *Laksmīliṅga*, a *Vyāsaliṅga* and a *Bhārgava (liṅga)*

There in the easter part a *Sanatkumāraliṅga* was established by me (Sūta) and a *Trinadīśvara (liṅga)* was established by Gangā, the Sun's daughter (= Yamunā) and Sarasvatī "

A *liṅga* can derive its name not only from the God or the peculiar form of the God it represents, or from the place where it has been built, but also and mainly from the person who established[7] or venerated it or even from the event which was the reason

7. See rules in *mūrtipratiṣṭhāvidhi*.

for its being established etc. As we are concerned here with *Laksmīlinga* we should be able to find out what kind of link we should suppose it existed between the two elements of the compound, *linga* and Laksmī The context unfortunately is ambivalent and leaves the solution uncertain *Laksmīlinga* can mean first of all '*linga* established by Laksmī', since in the same *śloka* where such compound is available there is also गौर्या संस्थापित लिङ्ग (=a *linga* established by Gaurī), so that even *Laksmīlinga* should be interpreted as having the same meaning, and the same we should say for the next two compounds *Vyāsalinga* and *Bhārgava*, which then would mean '*linga* established by Vyāsa and by Bhrigu' But if we look at the next *śloka* we can be inclined to interpret in a different way The word *Sanatkumāralinga* cannot mean 'a *linga* established by Sanatkumāra' since the next words affirm that it was established by Sūta Also the expression '*Trimadīśvara*' in the same *śloka* 87d means 'the lord of the three rivers', being a description of a *linga*, and does not properly imply imply the meaning of lord established by the three rivers' As *Laksmīlinga* is a compound word as *Sanatkumāralinga* and not as *Trimadīśvara* since the word '*īśvara*' does not appear in it, we should perhaps interpret it in the light of *Sanatkumāralinga*, and therefore understand it as '*linga* of Laksmī', leaving undecided the exact meaning of such an expression. As the context, then, does not help us in determining the meaning of the word *Laksmīlinga* we cannot deduce anything from it The presence of a *Laksmīlinga* in Vārānasī, anyhow, is confirmed also by the Tīrthavivecana of the Krtyakalpataru[8] which writes

लक्ष्मीलिङ्गस्य देवेन लिङ्ग पश्चान्मुख स्थितम् ।
उग्रेश्वरे महत्पुण्य सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥

"In Ugresvara a *linga* was put by a *deva* to the western side of *Laksmīlinga*, greatly holy and destructive of all the sins."

This *śloka* is referred to Linga purāna by Bhatta Laksmidhara, the author of the Krtyakalpataru, but it is not available, it seems, in the actual printed editions Its meaning is not completely clear, as it can be interpreted also in a way different from the one given here Moreover, it speaks of a *linga* in relation with a *Laksmīlinga*

8. *Krtyakalpataru* of Bhatta Laksmidhara, edited by K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1942, Tirthavivecana-khanda, p. 70.

of which there is no mention previously nor later The *śloka* then can only be adduced to sustain the existence of a *Lakṣmīlinga* in Vārānasī. What is really meant through such a word cannot be determined.

b *Urvaśīlinga*—The name of this *linga* is available in the *Tīrthavivecana*[9] of the Kṛtyakalpataru, which quotes the Linga purāna The word comes unexpectedly in the context which, although is a description of the *linga*-s in Vārānasī, yet gives their names in a different way, it calls them *Andhakeśa, Deveśvara, Gangeśvara, Yamuneśvara, Mandaleśvara* etc. The compound *Urvaśīlinga* has no other parallel in the context. The *śloka* in which our word is found is followed by this verse

अन्यानि तत्र लिङ्गानि स्थापितानि महात्मभिः ।[10]

"Other *linga*-s were established there by great men."

So from it we can deduce that all the previous names of *linga*-s were applied to commemorate the name of the establishers. Although *Urvaśīlinga* is a compound different from all the others in the context, it should be interpreted, there seems to be no doubt, as '*linga* established by Urvasi' The rareness of the compound, anyhow, strikes a little, the more so when we discover that in the same *adhyāya*, a little further,[11] about a *kunda*, where Urvaśī comes again in the picture, it is written

उर्वशीश्वरनामान स्थितं पश्चान्मुख भुवि ।

"On the earth a (kunda) put towards west whose name was Urvaśīśvara"

and again [12]

उर्वशीशसमीपे तु तालुकर्णेश्वर स्मृतम् ॥

"Near Urvaśīśa then a Tālukarneśvara is mentioned."

Nobody expects, of course, a *kuṇḍa* to be called '*linga*' and so in this case we cannot have '*Urvaśīlinga*' as it refers to a well and not to an aniconical image of the goddess. Yet the compound '*Urvaśīlinga*' remains strange The strangeness, anyhow, is in its rareness more than in its meaning.

From all that has been said we can affirm that a *linga* can raffigure a *devī* and that in every *linga*, besides the *yoni*, a part

9 *id*, p. 66
10 *id* p 66
11 *id*, p. 72
12. *id*, p. 72

represents her We can also surely affirm that the custom of using a *linga* to represent a *devī* was not spread, it was rather restricted to tantric circles As far as the expressions '*Laksmīlinga, Urvasī-linga* etc , are concerned, they usually mean '*linga* established by Laksmī, Urvasī etc ' but it should not be excluded in some cases the meaning of '*linga* of Laksmī, Urvasī, etc In this light, the word itself '*devīlinga*' can be interpreted not only as '*devī*'s image' in general but more properly as '*devī*'s *linga*' This meaning of the word must have been common in some tantric circles but sounded a little awkward to other people That explains why the Padma purāna tempered it by giving it the meaning of 'image' As for the Bhavisya purāna, where the *śloka* keeps its tantric flavour, we can understand the word not only as characteristic marks of the *linga* as it is undoubtedly requested by the context, but also as '*linga*'

This note it is hoped, will help for a better understanding of the use of the word '*linga*' during the centuries.

A WRONG RENDERING OF THE WORD मुख्यात्मन् (IN VISNU-PURĀNA 3 17 29) BY WILSON

While eulogizing Visnu the Visnupurāna says .

यज्ञाङ्गभूत यद् रूप जगतः सिद्धिसाधनम् ।
वृक्षादिभेदैर्यद्भेदि तस्मै मुख्यात्मने नमः ॥ (3 17 29)

Wilson translates this verse as 'Glory to thee who art that chief spirit which is diversified in the vegetable world, and which, as the essence of sacrifice, is the instrument of accomplishing the perfection of the universe '[1]

The translator has rendered the expression मुख्यात्मन् by 'chief spirit', which according to us is wrong as the following consideration would show The import of the word as given by the commentator Śrīdhara[2] seems to be original It is to be noted that Wilson, who often follows the commentator, did not adduce any reason for not following the view of the commentator.

(A) If मुख्यात्मन् is taken in the sense of 'chief spirit' there does not seem any relevance in saying that the chief spirit has subdivisions like trees *(vrksa)* etc As the word मुख्यात्मन् must be taken as a descriptive name, the state of being *mukhyātman* is to be directly and intimately connected with the vegetable world No such connection is found to exist between 'the character of being chief spirit' and 'the vegetable world' One can easily understand that there is no significance in saying that Visnu is known as the chief spirit on account of His being diversified in the vegetable world

(B) The word *mukhyātman* may be analysed either as an example of the Karmadhāraya compound or as an example of the Bahuvrihi compound Thus the expression would mean either '*ātman* who is *mukhya* (chief)' or 'one whose *ātman* (essence) is '*mukhya*'. Both of these meanings have no logical connection with वृक्षादिभेद

The foregoing discussion shows that in the present context the word *mukhya* cannot be taken in its usual sense of 'chief' It must be taken in a technical sense—a sense which should be in conso

1. The Visnu Purāna, translated by H H. Wilson, p 269, published by Punthi Pustaka, Calcutta 1961.
2. मुख्यात्मने = वृक्षात्मने.

nance with the remaining part of the verse and which must have been known to the purāṇic authors.

A perusal of the Purāṇas reveals that the word *mukhya* has a technical sense, namely 'the plant world', It is the only sense which renders the verse intelligible. The word in this sense has been repeatedly used in the Purāṇic Chapters on creation (vide Vāyu-p. 6.38-40; Brahmāṇḍa-p. 1.5. 33-34; Kūrma-p. 1.7.3-5). The Viṣṇupurāṇa, for example, after describing the characteristics of plants, says मुख्या नगा यतश्रोक्ता मुख्यसर्गस्ततस्त्वयम् (1.5.7) i.e. since the *nagās* (i. e. the vegetable world; naga meaning one that cannot move) are called *mukhyas* their creation is called *mukhyasarga*.

As to the reason for giving the name *mukhya* to the plant world it is said that since the plants are created at first (i. e. before the appearance of human and other beings) they are called *mukhya*.[3]

It is to be noted in this connection that a host of verses in Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature clearly speak of the subdivisions of plants and that a few of such Purāṇic passages mention वृक्ष (trees) in the first place, vide Bhīṣma parva 4.14.[4]

The above consideration clearly shows that Wilson's rendering of the expressing *mukhyātman* is wrong and that the expression must be taken in the sense of स्थावरात्मन् (or उद्भिज्जात्मन्). The commentator Śrīdhara has noted a variant reading as वृक्षादिभेदैः षड्भेदि in the place of वृक्षादिभेदैर्यद्भेदि. As the sixfold division of plants is also stated in the Purāṇas (vide Bhāgavata 3.10.19) this variant deserves consideration.

It is a pity that such a significant word as मुख्यात्मन् is not read in the Dictionary by Sir Monier Williams.

—**Jyotirmayee Bhattacharya**

3. मुखमिव प्रथमं ब्रह्मणः सर्गो भवतीति मुख्या नगाः स्थावराः (Śrīdhara's comm. on Viṣṇu-p. I. 5.7; मुखमिव प्रथमं कृतः (Śrīdhara's comm. on Bhāg. 3.10.18). The word *mukhya* is derived from the word मुख according to the Pāṇinian Sūtra शाखादिभ्यो यः (5.3.103). The Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (3.190) observes : मुखमिव मुख्यः, यथा मुखं हस्तपादादिभ्योऽवयवेभ्यः प्रथममू अवलोक्यते, तथाऽन्योऽप्येवमुच्यते.

4. उद्भिज्जाः स्थावराः प्रोक्तास्तेषां पञ्चैव जातयः ।
वृक्षगुल्मलतावल्ल्यस्त्वक् सारास्तृणजातयः ॥
(भीष्मपर्व 4.14). The त्वक्सार are said to be the same as the तृणजाति; (vide the comm. by Nilakaṇṭha).

THE FIVE VEDĪ-S OF BRAHMĀ

According to the Vāmana Purāna Prajāpatı Brahmā performed sacrifices at five places and these five places are regarded as *vedī*-s or sacrificial places of Brahmā. The passages related to these five vedī-s of Vāmana Purāna are as follows

देवा ऊचुः

कियन्त्यो वेदयः सन्ति ब्रह्मण पुरुषोत्तम ।
येनोत्तरतया वेदिर्गदिता सर्वपञ्चका ॥ 23.17

देवदेव उवाच

वेदयो लोकनाथस्य पञ्च धर्मस्य सेतवः
यासु यष्टं सुरेशेन लोकनाथेन शंभुना
प्रयागो मध्यमा वेदिः पूर्वा वेदिः गयाशिरः
विरजा दक्षिणा वेदिरनन्तफलदायिनी
प्रतीची पुष्करा वेदिस्त्रिभिः कुण्डैरलकृता ।
समन्तपञ्चका चोक्ता वेदिरेवोत्तराऽभ्यया ॥ 23 18-20

23.18-20

Gods said O best among men, how many are the vedī-s of Brahmā of which Samantapañcaka is said the northern one ?

The Lord of the Gods said The five vedī-s of the master of the world are the bridges of *dharma*, where Śambhu (i e Brahmā) the lord of the worlds and the master of gods performed sacrifices (Of these five vedīs) Prayāga is the middle vedī and Gayāsiras is the eastern vedī, Virajā, the producer of endless merits is the southern vedī, Puskara decorated with three *Kundas* (ponds) is the Western vedī and the Samantapañcaka is the undecaying northern vedī

Of these five vedis three are very popular In this connection M M Kane notes the legend runs that Prajāpatı or Pıtāmaha performed sacrifices here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedīs of Brahmā, the others being Kuruksetra in the north (*Uttaravedī*) and Gayā in the east (History of Dharma Sāstra vol IV, p. 557).

From the Vedic period Kuruksetra was a famous Brahmanical centre and Vedic religion and culture were developed here and from here spread to the other parts of the country. In pre-Purānic period also it was regarded as a vedī of Prajāpatı (place of sacrifice of Prajāpatı). The Tāndya Brāhmana (25.13.3) says that the Kurusetra is the sacrificial altar of Prajāpatı

एतावतो वात्र प्रजापतेर्वेदिर्यावत् कुरुक्षेत्रमिति ।

variously repeated in the epics and the Purāṇas and Kuruk-
s regarded as place or *vedī* of Brahmā

1. एतत् कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं प्रजापतेरुत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ।
Mbh, Vana, 83.200
2. अथैषा ब्रह्मणो वेदी दिशमन्तरत स्थिता Nārada P II 61.13
3. ब्रह्मवेद्या कुरुक्षेत्रं ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः Nārada P II 61.23
4 ब्रह्मवेदी कुरुक्षेत्रं पुण्य ब्रह्मर्षिसेवितम् Mbh Vana 83.200
5. ब्रह्मक्षेत्रं महापुण्यमभिगच्छन्ति भारत ।
Padma P, Svargakh 2.64

After Kuruksetra, Prayāga is the next place which is variously
as vedī or Ksetra of Brahmā in the epics and the Purāṇas. It
y natural that after Kuruksetra vedic culture and religious sot
rtance at the sacred confluence of Gangā and Yamuna and this
was regarded as the middle vedī of Brahmā

1. एतत् प्रजापते. क्षेत्र त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ।
Kārma P I 34.20, Nārada P. II 63.130, Matsya P.
103.4, Padma P, Svargakh, 41.5
2. प्रजापतेरिद क्षेत्र प्रयागमिति विश्रुतम् । Matsya P, 110.14
3 तीर्थं भोगवती चैव वेदी प्रोक्ता प्रजापते ।
Padma P, Svargakh 39.78, Agni P 111.5
4 तीर्थं भोगवती चैव वेदिरेषा प्रजापते । Mbh, Vana, 85.77

After Prayāga comes Gayā which is regarded as the eastern
of Brahmā Though it is narrated in the Purāṇas that Brahmā
ormed his sacrifice here on the body of demon Gaya, however
references to Gayā as Prajāpati ksetra are not common in the
ānas The Virajāksetra is in Utkala and references about it as
hmā's vedī are also rare However, in the *Virajaksetra
tātmya*, a text ascribed as a part of Brahmānda Purāṇa, it is said
t Brahmā performed his sacrifice here (see chs. 1.3, 25-26) The
siding deity of Puskara is Brahmā and his sacrifice is also
rated in the Purāṇas The Padma P describes this sacrifice in
ail (Srstikhanda, chs 15-22). Here Puskara is clearly mentioned
vedī of Brahmā

वेदी ह्येषा कृता यज्ञे ब्रह्मणा लोककारिणा ॥
(Padma P, Srstikh. 157.50)

Hence it is also a Prajāpati ksetra or vedī of Brahmā.

—**Ganga Sagar Rai**

Reviews

CLASSICAL HINDU MYTHOLOGY—A Reader in the Sanskrit Purānas, Edited and translated by Cornelia Dimmitt and J A B van Buitenen, Temple University Press, Philadelphya, 1978, pp XIII, 373

The recent passing away of J A. B van Buitenen gives the book under review a particular significance It might be symbolic that such a great scholar, who was no purānic specialist, ended his life with a contribution to purānic studies and to the epic as the book presented here shows on the one hand and his unfortunately unfinished translation of the Mahābhārata by the University of Chicago Press on the other The interest in the purānic literature has been in the increase during last years Articles and books dealing with purānic subjects have now become more frequent Yet, as a lot of research remains still to be done, every new book can easily offer something to be added to our scanty knowledge of the purānic world Even in the field of mythology for which purāna-s are the main source, literature is very limited. Attempts have been made by scholars to produce 'dictionaries', '*kośās*' or 'encyclopaedias', we can here remember V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purāna Index*, University of Madras, 1955, 3 volls, Vettam Mani, *Purānic Encyclopaedia*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, Siddhesvara Shastri Citrāo, *Bhārata varsīya Prācīna Caritrakośa* (Dictionary of Ancient Indian Biografy), Poona, 1964 , Rāna Prasād Sharma, *Paurānic Kośa*, Vārānasi, Jñāna Mandal Limited, Samvat 2028 (1971 A D) and, closer to Dimmitt and van Buitenen's book, Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1956, R K. Narayan, *Gods, Demons and others*, Viking Press, New York, 1964, Wendy D.O' Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*, Penguin Books, 1975

Although nowadays attention is given to single myths and deep research is done on them, yet the reader is very rarely offered the text itself of the myth, he has to be satisfied with the already interpreted mediation of the researcher, who although extremely honest and true to the text can never reach the freshness and impact the myth itself can have on the reader or listener.

The book reviewed here brings home to the reader the genuine text of Hindu myths in a superb and pleasant English translation. Cornelia Dimmitt and J A B van Buitenen's aim in editing the book seems concentrated on presenting the original texts as they are, without interposing 'a private interpretation' (p xiii). We have but to approve and wellcome such an attempt.

Dedicated "to H H. Vibhuti Narain Singh Kashiraj for his princely contribution to scholarship,' the book consists of a translation of passages taken from the Mahāpurāna-s and grouped under six main subjects 1 *Origins*, dealing with the beginning of the world and its dissolution, the origin and nature of Time, the shape of Space with description of the seven Heavens and seven Netherworlds and Hells, 2 *Visnu*, 3 *Krsna*, 4 *Śiva*, 5. The *Goddess*, in each of these parts the life, attributes, feats of the deities are presented through interesting purāṇic passages, 6. *Seers, Kings and Supernaturals*, which is the longest section containing a large varieties of arguments like seers, kings, vedic gods and demons, rivers and sacred fords, supernaturals.

Each section is preceded by an Introduction which, as it is affirmed in the Preface (p xiii) 'seeks mostly to describe and give guidance to the reader'. The attentive reader, although descovering that the authors are aware of the complex problems lying under the proposed solutions, will easily uncovered that some statements are not always accurate. I want to draw the reader's attention particularly on what is affirmed about the 'pañcalaksana, of the purāṇa-s (p 9). The lexicon of Amarasimha, although speaking of 'purāṇapañcalakṣana' does not give the names of the five topics, which are instead usually given by the purāṇic texts A good work on this topic is Stephan Hillyer Levitt, A Note on Compound Pañcalaksana in Amarasimha's Nāmalingānuśāsana, in *Purāṇa*, Vārāṇasī, XIII, 1 (Feb, 1976), pp 5-38 At the stage of actual research is not safe to affirm that the "pañcalakṣaṇa comprises in fact the earliest stratum of the texts" (p. 9); see for this problem *Purāṇā*, Vārāṇasī, XXI, 2 (July, 1979), pp 116-166.

The problems presented in the introductions to the different sections are usually exposed in a well-balanced way and they can constitute a sound guide for the common reader 'whom, oratorically we presume to know very little' (p. xiii). The text, directly translated from Sanskrit, is in a very readible language which is far from pedantry of a littteral translation and at the same time usually

rather faithful to the original. The difficulties, and therefore sometimes the shortcomings, of such a method, have been pointed out by the authors themselves (p xiii).

Out of 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s (or 19 as both Vāyu and Śiva appear) only 14 have been used Nārada, Brahmānda, Skanda as as well as Bhavisya and Varāha do not appear at all, while purāṇa-s like Padma, Vāyu, Brahma and Linga, which are all rich of myths and, at least Vāyu, as well as Brahmānda, are considered very old, have been used only once or twice.

The choice of the themes should be considered generally very appropriate In a selection, however, more than in any other case, personal preferences have their bearing It seems, for instance, strange that no passage speaking of the ten avatāras of Visnu has been given, or that while speaking of Vārānasi no text has been taken from the Kāsī Khanda It would have been nice, as the book is dedicated to a Kashiraj, that more importance was given to the river Gangā and its descent But all these are matters of personal likings, which do not really diminish the general goodness of the selection

I should like to attract the attention on a marginal slip, which shows that the translators are not very familiar with numbers It is enough to compare p 19 with pp 37-38 to note the discrepancy between the numbers given in the two places which refer in fact to the same topic The calculation of the kalpa given there should be adjusted in the following way at p 19 the total in human years given for the life of Brahmā represents in fact Brahmā's one day of life (and not the whole, as it is affirmed) and at p 38 the cifer should be changed in the following way 306,720,000 (or thirty crores, sixty seven lakhs and twenty thousand)

The book does not contain a bibliography, as the reader is sent to O'Flaherty's *Hindu Myths* (see p xi fn) It would have been better to repeat some of the important titles from O'Flahertys work not to make the book completely dependedt on another one for such an important part.

—Giorgio Bonazzoli

Īcvaragītā o "Poema del Signore", Introduzione, traduzione e note di Mario Piantelli, Luigi Battei, Parma (It) 1980, pp 295 (Īśvaragītā or "Poem of the Lord" Introduction and notes by Mario Piantelli)

Among the small countries Italy is no doubt one which has greatly contributed to Indological studies Attention has often been given to purānic studies as is apparent from the article 'Purānic studies in Italy' by Stefano Piano and Giuseppe Sp[illegible], published in this same issue (pp 122-156) From this point of view then, it is no matter of surprise to see one more Italian publication on purānic literature.

The Īśvaragītā constitutes the first eleven adhyāya-s of the Kūrma purāna, Uparivibhāga and is not unknown to Indologists, as it has already appeared in good editions and translations (cf Īśvaragītā, Introd pp 61 64). With the present edition the Italian public also can now read such an important śaiva and advaita text and uncover its inspired beauty

Mario Piantelli, Professor of Religions and Philosophies of India in the Universities of Turin and Venice (Italy), is a scholar specially attentive to philosophical advaita and śaiva themes as shows his book *Śankara e la Rinascita del Brahmanesimo* Fossano, Ed Esperienze, 1974 and a few articles on Indological Taurinensia and other magazins It is, then, with curiosity and interest that the Italian reader will approach this new work of a specialist in the field

Besides a Preface, written by the well-known Italian Indologist Stefano Piano, who gives also a good Bibliographical Note on the Mahāpurāna-s, the book contains an Introduction dealing with the position of the Īśvaragītā in the Indian religious literature, the Śaivism as the spiritual background of the Īśvaragītā, the importance of the text of the Īśvaragītā, its editions and translations. After the Introduction follows the Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī of the eleven adhyāya-s with an Italian translation facing the original at each page Every adhyāya as well as the Introduction is followed by abundant Notes, which not only explain the difficult points of the text but also inform the reader about various other topics indispensable for a better comprehension of the rich message of this *gītā*. The book is meant for an educated pu[illegible]

as the devanāgarī text given at each page clearly shows but is usefully read by a larger public and by scholars who will also find rich suggestions of research

The Sanskrit text is the one critically established by A S. Gupta and published in the edition of the All-India Kashiraj Trust in 1972 The translation is personally done by the author and sometimes greatly differs from other translations (see I. 1,7,8,12,21 etc), in this sense Piantelli's work can contribute to a better understanding of the text Unfortunately he does not give justification for his translation which is sometimes source of doubts The word 'tapas', for instance, is usually translated with 'ascetic heat' while in I 33 is rendered with 'asceticism' without any apparent justification in either cases. The rendering of Sanskrit into Italian looks now and then a little obsolete, this happens specially when the author tries to translate literally images which belong to a complete different culture and background

It is unfortunate, moreover, that for typographical reasons the international diacritical system for Sanskrit translation, when needed, could not be followed completely

But the book wants to be first of all a philosophical contribution to the indological studies In this connection Piantelli's work is always accurate, explaining the text which is enlightened and finds its full advaitic background and flavour The reader will be delighted in coming across a very large number of bibliographical references meant to clarify all the aspects and the themes discussed in the Notes All the main words and teachings of the Īśvaragītā are carefully given their complete background from the other Sanskrit works Not infrequently suggestions taken from other cultural areas different from India but presenting the same themes are also introduced That gives a deeper insight to Piantelli's commentary and raises the reader's interest The introduction is specially worth attention, here the author gives the best of his knowledge His views are always according to the latest studies and often he offers also new fortunate interpretations

It would be a useful improvement if a glossary of different words and of divine names were added at the end That would make the text far more understandable also to the less prepared readers.

The book, contains a rich material and constitutes a substantial contribution to the understanding of a text which being both purāṇic and philosophical, is particularly difficult Such an adventure can only be wellcome and praised

—Giorgio Bonazzoli

पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी, विधि एवं आचार, सम्पादक लल्लन जी गोपाल, प्रथम खण्ड 'अंश' से 'दमन' तक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्त्व विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, १९७८, पृ० ५+ ३६ छ. ३५२ (७).

This book is a contribution of the Banaras Hindu University to the purāṇic studies and deserves our appreciation. The Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeological Deptt. of this University has been very active for several years and has taken new impulse recently under the guide of Dr. Lallanji Gopal. The book under review is just one of the results of such an activity.

The book has indeed a long history as its planning goes back to 1954, when under the scheme of an Index of purāṇic subject a first volume was published in 1957 by R. Pandey who had gathered all the purāṇic words related to 'rājanīti'. The present volume is the first part of the same purāṇic Index on the subjects related to 'vidhi' and 'ācāra'.

The editor Lalanji Gopal has been coadjuvated in his work by research helpers, namely Satyanarain Pandey, Ramji Pandey, Ramadhar Pathak and Maheshchandra Joshi. They have put all their efforts in reading, cataloguing and classifying all the 18 Mahāpurāṇa-s (or better 19 as both the Vāyu and the Śiva purāṇa-s are quoted) and some important treatises on Dharmaśāstra (cf. Yājñavalkya) which are used to clarify the purāṇic matter in certain points.

The words are given in alphabetical order, and the purāṇic quotations are put in the footnotes, where the Sanskrit text itself is sometimes added if necessity requires. The quotations are accurate, though some printing mistakes have crept in, and it seems that no purāṇic word on 'vidhi' and 'ācāra' has been left out. Under *govrata* it is affirmed that there is no description of it in the purāṇa-s and that most probably it is a vow in the form of veneration of the cow (संभवतः गोसेवारूप व्रत के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त). It can be added here that Mahābhārata, Udyoga parva 99.14 describes such a vow in the following way:

यत्रतत्रशयो नित्यं येन केनाचिदाशितः ।
येन केनाचिदाच्छन्नः स गोव्रत इहोच्यते ॥

It appears, then, that *govrata* is a vow that a devotee undertakes and during which he performes certain penances, like moving here and there without taking shelter in any place.

The work is quite trustworthy and it is only unfortunate that it is not yet complete. It is to hope that the next parts also will appear soon for the benefit of all the purāṇic researchers.

—**Giorgio Bonazzoli**

ŚRĪ RAMESH CHANDRA DE

It is with the profoundest grief that we have learnt of the sudden demise of Śrī Ramesh Chandra De, B A, LL B, General Secretary of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, on 19 April 1980 en route to Lucknow.

A distinguished citizen of the holy city of Kashi, Ramesh Chandra De and his family have been connected with the House of Mahārāja Benares for the last four royal generations, he himself having served three generations With deep attachment and loyalty he served the Mahārāja, literally till his last breath, trying his best all the time to build up and preserve the hoary "Institution of Kashirāj" and keep it alive in tune with the times For an orthodox Hindu, as he was, this was most becoming and fulfilling, for had not the great Sanskrit dramatist, Bhāsa, said,

नव शराव सलिलै. सुपूर्णं सुसस्कृत दर्भकृतोत्तरीयम् ।
तत् तस्य मा भून्नियं स गच्छेद् यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्ध्येत् ॥

(Let not the earthen pitcher, filled with water and covered with *darbha* (grass) go to him who did not fall fighting and proved true to his master's bread. Let him rather go to hell)

Ramesh Chandra De's ancestors came to Benares from the Court of Murshidabad in Bengal in the 19th century A D and distinguished themselves as *rais* (noble men) of the city His grandfather's eldest brother, Mahesh Chandra De, was a famous *Vīnā* player and finds mention in the autobiography of Śrī Ramakrishna Paramahamsa His *Vīnā* preserved by the family over the years has been presented to the Mahārāja Benares Vidyā Mandir Museum by Ramesh Chandra De and is displayed alongside the famous *mridanga* of Bharatendu Harischandra, the great Hindi poet and litterateur. Ramesh Babu's grandfather, Girish Chandra De, was an Inspector of Schools. The post he later gave up and was employed as private tutor to Maharājkumār Prabhu Narain Singh to teach him English After a brief period of tutorship he was rewarded with a monthly pension of a hundred rupees and a horse-carriage with all its expenses found for the rest of his life.

Sirish Chandra De, son of Girish Chandra De, was a thorough gentleman who served the State of Benares for over forty years as *Imlak* Officer looking after the private *Zamindari* properties (Estate) of the Mahārāja. To keep up a family tradition started by the previous generation, Mahārāja Śrī Aditya Narain Singh Bahadur had his *'aksarārambha'* (initiation into the alphabet) in English performed by Sirish Chandra De This tradition was kept up later when the present Mahārāja had his *aksarārambha* in English by Ramesh Chandra De as also did his daughters, the Mahārājkumāris and son, Mahārāj Kumār Shri Anant Narain Singh Bahadur Ramesh Babu was mostly instrumental in persuading the present Marāhāja to continue his studies after the merger of the Benares State in the Indian Union and to take his Master of Arts examination in Sanskrit from the Banaras Hindu University In this Ramesh Babu was supported and given encouragment by the then Governor General of India, C.Rajagopalachari who was Visitor to the Banaras Hindu University During the life time of Sirish Chandra De, Ramesh Babu was appointed Assistant *Imlak* Officer in 1922 and later, on the death of his father, he took over the position of *Imlak* Officer During the great depression and the 'no-rent collection movement' of 1935, he served and preserved the *Zamindari* properties with great tact and statesmanship, proving his political acumen and great administrative abilities, by keeping all concerned happy and good humored without affecting the finances

On assumption of powers in 1947 the present Mahārāja appointed Ramesh Chandra De as his Private Secretary and he was mainly instrumental in bringing about responsible government in the Benares State, with the help of the eminent lawyer and politician, H N Kunzru He continued to serve in this capacity during the merger of the Benares State in the Indian Union. During the negotiations for merger, Ramesh Chandra De put out the idea of creating the All-India Kashiraj Trust for the preservation of the 'Institution of Kashiraj' and making it a living institution Śrī K M Munshi, gave him his full support and they were able to persuade Śrī V P. Menon, the Secretary of State of the Government of India, to agree to the creation of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the support of the Central and the U. P. Government. The genesis of the institution was incorporated in the collateral letter to the agreement of merger and on the strength

of this, the President of India was made a party to the creation of the Trust This fact is incorporated in the Deed of Trust Thus, Ramesh Babu was in a way the 'father' of the All-India Kashiraj Trust He persuaded the President, Dr Rajendra Prasad to inaugurate the Trust in 1956 and he assumed office as the first General Secretary of the Trust

Ramesh Babu collected a band of scholars like Dr V S Agaiwala, Dr. V Raghavan, Dr Sunitı Kumar Chatterjı, Panditaraj Rajeshwar Shastrı Dravid and with their help established the Purāna Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust which has made a name for itself in the national and international scholarly world

A doubt arose in 1963 about the declaration of holidays for the Dassahara, the year in which '*ksayamāsa*' fell Ramesh Babu was instrumental in getting a resolution passed by the All-India Kashiraj Trust for holding a conference of traditional and modern astrologers and astronomers to discuss the issue The Government of India was represented at this conference by Śrī Nirmal Chand Lahiri, editor of the National Calendar of India With his usual tact and qualities of persuasion he prevailed upon the Government of India to declare the observance of *Dassahara* holidays as per the decision of the conference held by the All-India Kashiraj Trust, thus making the Trust a body to be consulted by the Government on religious matters It is sad to think that he will not be with the Trust when it celebrates its Silver Jubilee year in 1981

Ramesh Babu was a *sādhaka* too Adepts like *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Gopinath Kaviraj acknowledged him to be an advanced Yogi He was well-versed also in *śakta* literature. Scholars came to him to get their doubts removed He withdrew himself into obscurity in this field as all *sādhakas* are ordained to Apart from his study of *śākta* literature, he studied *Purāna* literature in Bengali and collected different editions and translations of the *Purānas* His article on the *Matsya Purāna* was published in the first issue of the *Purāna* Bulletin. He was also a great devotee of Tulsīdās's *Rāmcharit Mānas*. He was deeply interested in the classical music of India and was one time a good '*dhrupadia*'

Ramesh Babu was endowed with several qualities of heart and head. He was outspoken, to extent of being misunderstood

and misrepresented. A dauntless upholder of truth that he was, he held fast to his principles braving displeasure from seats of power and authority. His conversation was always engrossing, scintillating, spiced with colloquial phrases and proverbial cliches. His high office in the Benares State for over half a century brought him into close contact with illustrious men from all walks of life, like Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, Dr Sampurnanand, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi, Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Ganganath Jha, *Panditarāj* Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Dr Tej Bahadur Sapu, K M Munshi, Dr H N Kunzru and a host of others.

His knowledge of the history and traditions of the Benares State and Kāshī was truly encyclopaedic, having himself witnessed the lives and times of numerous illustrious personalities. Had he, as Dr Sampurnanand had often urged him, been able to write a history of Benares State, we would have been blessed with yet another treasured legacy, for with the passing away of Ramesh Babu, there is now none left competent enough for so great a task.

Our deepest sympathies cannot but go out to the bereaved family of Ramesh Chandra De. May the Goddess Mother Durga, whose devotee he had ever been, take care of his soul as She did the *Saptaśatī*:

तामुपैहि महाराज शरण परमेश्वरीम् ।
आराधिता सैव नृणा भोगस्वर्गापवर्गदा ॥

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(January-June, 1980)

Varāha Purāṇa Work

As informed in previous report (Jan , 80) the constitution of the critical text, critical apparatus and appendices of Varāha Purāna are complete. Now the printing work has started with full speed. Till now, about 70 chapters have been printed. As the slokas in Varāha Purāna are about 10000 the critical edition will be bound in two parts

The English and Hindi translations have been also started. As the total number of the pages in these three volumes exceeds even three thousand pages the printing will cover almost a year time.

Garuda Purāṇa Work

The collation of a manuscript, housed in Sarasvatī Bhandāra Library of Rāmnagar Fort has started. Attempts for procuring other manuscripts are going on

Purāṇam

With this issue *Purānam* completes its 22nd volume With the co operations of scholars the importance and popularity of the journal is increasing

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

1 From the 16th to the 24th of March, Rāmanāvamī, 1980 the Vālmīki Rāmāyana was recited at Janakpur, Rāmnagar.

2 From the 6th to the 16th of February, Mahāśīvarātrī, 1980 the Śiva Purāna was recited by Pandit Śrī Kāmadeva Jhā in the Dharmasālā of Rāmnagar In occasion of Mahāsivarātri a Rudrābhiseka was performed for the whole night

These recitations keep alive a long tradition which influenced largely the devotion and behaviour of people fo centuries

Veda Pārāyaṇa

The Krsna Yajurveda, Taittirīya Śākhā, was recited by heart from Māgha Śukla Pratipad to Māgha Pūrnimā, i e from the 18th of January to the 1st of February, 1980 in the Vyāseśvara temple

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी-जून १९८०)

वराहपुराणं कार्यम्

यथा पूर्वकार्यविवरणे सूचितं वराहपुराणस्य पाठनिर्धारणं समीक्षीपकरणनिर्माणकार्यं परिशिष्टादिनिर्माणकार्यं संपूर्णं जातम्। इदानीं वराहपुराणस्य मुद्रणकार्यं प्रारब्धं जातम्। अद्यावधि सप्तति अध्यायाः मुद्रिताः। वराहपुराणे श्लोकाना सख्या दश सहस्र वर्तते अत पाठसमीक्षितसस्करण द्वयो. खण्डयो प्रस्तुत भविष्यति। वामनकूर्मपुराणवद् भूमिकापरिशिष्टादीना योजन भविष्यति।

आङ्गलभाषा-हिन्दीभाषानुवादकार्यमपि प्रारब्ध वर्तते। पुराणस्य विपुलकायत्वाद् एषु खण्डेषु प्राय' त्रिसहस्रपृष्ठाना सभावनाऽस्ति अतो मुद्रणकार्य वर्षं यावत् कालनिक्षेप सभाव्यते।

गरुडपुराणकार्यम्

गरुडपुराणस्य पाठसवादलेखनकार्यमपि प्रारब्धं वर्तते। रामनगर दुर्गस्थस्य एकस्य हस्तलेखस्य पाठसवाद क्रियामाणो वर्तते। हस्तलेखानामवाप्तये प्रयासो वर्तते।

'पुराणम्' पत्रिका

विदुषा सहयोगेन पुराणम् पत्रिकाया द्वाविंशतिर्वर्षा. पूर्णाः। पत्रिकाया महत्त्व प्रसारञ्चानुदिन विवर्धते।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

१ संपूर्णे चैत्रनवरात्रे (१९८० वर्षस्य मार्च मासस्य १६ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य २४ दिनाङ्क यावत्) रामनगरस्थे जनकपुरमन्दिरे वाल्मीकिरामायणस्य पारायणं जातम्।

२. १९८० वर्षस्य फरवरी मासस्य ६ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य १६ दिनाङ्क यावत् (शिवरात्रिदिन यावत्) रामनगरस्थे धर्मशालाया शिवमन्दिरे श्रीकामदेवज्ञामहोदयेन शिवपुराणस्य पारायणं कृतम्। महाशिवरात्रौ रात्रि यावत् रुद्राभिषेको जातः। एभि. पारायणै. भक्ते. परम्परायाश्च अनेकशतवर्षं प्रचलिता परम्परा अक्षुण्णा जायते।

वेदपारायणम्

रामनगरस्थे व्यासेश्वरमन्दिरे माघशुक्लप्रतिपद्दिनमारभ्य पूर्णिमापर्यन्त (१९८० वर्षस्य जनवरी मासस्य १८ दिनाङ्कम् आरभ्य फरवरी मासस्य १ दिनाङ्क यावत्) कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य तैत्तिरीयशाखाया स्मृत्याधारेण

of Rāmnagar Fort The Pārāyaṇa Kartā (i e. the reciter by heart) was Śrī Rāmachandra Ghanapathi, the Śrotā (i e the listener) was Śrī Viśvanātha Subramanya Ghanapathi The particularity of this recitation is that for the first time the Grhyasūtra and the Mantra-prasna Upanisad were also recited by heart While for the Rgveda there are pandits who know also the vedānga-s by heart, there was nobody till now who had memorized the vedāngas of the Krsna Yajurveda. The Kashiraj Trust is encouraging the pandits to continue in this old tradition of learning by heart the whole veda.

Both the Pārāyana-kartā and the Śrotā were given the due Daksinā of Rs 1001 and Rs. 101 respectively

Visitors to the Purāṇa Department

As usual many scholars and distinct persons have visited the Purāna Department. Some of them have also left their impressions in the visitor's book

1 Prof Raniero Gnoli, Professor of Indology in the University of Rome—on 11 1 1980
2 Dr Raghuraj Kishor Singh—Azamgarh—on 11 1 1980
3 Mr Pawood Mustafa and Family—Cape Town (South Africa)—on 15 1 1980
4 Mr Donald Stadtmer—Austin, Texas, U S A—on 18.1 1980
5 Professors from the Faculty of Colorado State University U S A They wrote in the visitors book 'We are greatful for your scholarly work'—on 18 1 1980
6 Dr R K Sharma, Vice chancellor of Darbhanga Sanskrit University on 28 1 1980
He wrote
रम्य भव्य चारु, चमत्कृतिमय सर्वम् ॥
7. Prof L Sternbach—on 30 1 1980
8 Dr I K Vig, Postgraduate Deptt of History, Jullundur on 29 3.1980 He wrote 'I was very much impressed by the unique work being undertaken by this Department Really it is a lasting benefit for research on the fifth Veda'

Dedication of a Book to the Chairman

Cornelia Dimmit and the recently dead J A B van Buitenen have dedicated their book *Classical Hindu Mythology*, A Reader in the Sanskrit Purānas, to the Chairman of the Trust H.H Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh 'for his princely contribution to Purāṇa scholarship'

पारायणं कृतम् । पारायण श्रीरामचन्द्रघनपाठिमहोदयेन कृतम् । [illegible]
सुब्रह्मण्यघनपाठिमहोदय श्रोता आसीत् । अस्मिन् पारायणे [illegible]
मासीद् यद् गृह्यसूत्रस्य मन्त्रप्रश्नोपदिषदोऽपि पारायणं जातम् । [illegible]
गृह्यसूत्रस्य उपनिषदश्च पारायणं न पूर्वं कृतमासीत् । केवलं [illegible]
एतादृशा वर्तन्ते ये वेदाङ्गेन सह संहिता कण्ठाग्रीकृता किन्तु कृष्ण [illegible]
कोऽपि नासीद् एतादृश. अस्मात्प्राग् यत्र वेदाङ्गै सह संहिता कण्ठाग्रीकृता [illegible]
सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यास अङ्गै सह संहिताया कण्ठाग्रीकरणस्य प्रारं[illegible]
परम्पराया सरक्षणार्थं पण्डितानां प्रोत्साहने सञ्जो वर्तते । पारायणस्य [illegible]
पारायणकर्त्रे १००१) रुप्यकाणा श्रोत्रे च १०१) रुप्यकाणा दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

पूर्ववद् बहवो विद्वांसो विशिष्टा जनाश्च पुराणविभागे आगता [illegible] कैश्चिद् दर्शकपुस्तिकाया स्वमन्तव्यान्यपि लिखितानि ।

१ प्रो० रेनिरो ग्नोली-रोमविश्वविद्यालये प्राच्यविद्याया [illegible] ११.८० दिनाङ्के

२. डा० रघुराजकिशोरसिंह - आजमगढ वास्तव्य ११ [illegible] दिनाङ्के ।

३. श्री पअूड मुस्तफा—केपटाउनवास्तव्यः १५ १.८० दिनाङ्के ।

४. मि० डोनाल्ड स्टाड्मर—आस्टिन, टेक्सास वास्तव्य [illegible] दिनाङ्के ।

५ स्टेट विश्वविद्यालय कोलोरोडो (अमेरिका) इत्यस्य [illegible] प्राध्यापकाः—१८ १.८० दिनाङ्के । तैर्लिखित दर्शकपुस्तिका ग्रन्थ—भार[illegible] पाण्डित्यपूर्णकार्यनिमित्तं वयं कृतज्ञा ।

६. डा० रामकरणशर्मा—दरभङ्गा संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य [illegible] तैर्लिखितम्—रम्य भव्यं चारुचमत्कृतिमय सर्वम्—२८.१.८० दिना [illegible]

७. प्रो० लुडविक स्टर्नबाख—३० १.८० दिनाङ्के ।

८. डा० आइ० के० विग—जलन्धरनगरस्य [illegible] विभागस्याध्यक्ष. २९.३.८० दिनाङ्के । तैर्लिखितम्—अनेन विभागेन प्रा[illegible] अपूर्वेण कार्येण अहमतीव प्रभावितोऽस्मि । पञ्चमवेदविषया अनुसन्धान[illegible] एतत्कार्यं चिरस्थायि मूल्य भजते ।'

तत्र भवद्भ्यो न्यासाध्यक्षेभ्य पुस्तकसमर्पणम् [illegible]
माइथोलाजी नामक एक पुराणविषयको ग्रन्थ. न्यासस्याध्यक्षेभ्य [illegible] भवद्भ्यो डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्यः तेषा पौराणि[illegible] राजोचितसाहाय्यार्थं समर्पित । अय ग्रन्थ लेखकद्वयेन—[illegible] चर्चं तथा जे० ए० बी० वान ब्युटिनेन लिखित ।

The Purāṇa Department regrets the loss of J A B van Buitenen, an eminent scholar in Indology who greatly contributed to make Indian Culture better known to the world

We regret also the sad demise of Śrī Ramesh Chandra De who was General Secretary of the Trust since its very inception Till his last moment he worked for the betterment of the Trust An obituary is given in this same issue

Convocations Presided over by the Chairman

The Chairman of All-India Kashiraj Trust, H H the Mahārāja Dr Vibhuti Narain Singh presided over the Convocation of the Institute of Medical Sciences on the 19th of March, 1980 and of the Institute of Technology on 28th of March, 1980

He also presided over the General Convocation of the B H U. on the 30th of March, 1980, when the Vice-President with a galaxy of illustrious scholars and artists in various fields were conferred honorary degrees Mother Teresa was also one of the recipients. It was after eight years that such a convocation was held at the B H. U, Vārānasī

Second All-India Sanskrit Conference

Since the Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust is also President of the Viśva Śanskrit Pratisthān of Pondicherry, he presided over its second All-India Sanskrit Conference in Ujjain during the Kumbha parva on the 28th of April, 1980 The Junior Śankarācārya of Kāñcī inaugurated the conference and His Holiness was gracious enough at the command of his guru His Holiness the Senior Śankarācārya to confer to the Chairman the title of **Vaidikadharmasamrāt** The scroll conferring this title is reproduced at the end In the scroll His Holiness has appreciated the endeavours of His Highness the Mahārāja of Benares for the propagation of vedas and his dedication to the re-establishment of the Indian culture and Sanātana Dharma

The Chairman, while staying at Ujjain, was guest of Rājmātā of Gwalior and stayed at the historical Palace of Kalyadha

New Member on the Board of Trustees

H. H. Maharaja Dr Vibhuti Naram Singh exercising his authority as chairman of the Trust nominated Pt Baladeva Upadhyaya a renowned scholar and Former Director of Research in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University in the Board of Trustees of the All India Kashiraj Trust The vacancy was caused by the death of Dr. Sunīti Kumar Chatterjee We welcome the new appointment.

पुराणविभाग' डा० जे० ए० बी० ब्युटिनान महोदयस्य निधनेन खिन्नो वर्तते। एष महाशय प्राच्यविद्यायाः विशिष्टो विद्वान् आसीत् येन प्राच्यविद्याया व्याख्यार्थम् अतीव प्रयासो विहित ।

वयं न्यासस्य प्रधानसचिवस्य **श्रीरमेशचन्द्रदेव** महोदयस्य १८ अप्रेल १९८० दिनाङ्के आकस्मिकनिधनेनापि खिन्ना. स्म । एष महाशय. न्यासस्य स्थापनाकालादेवास्य प्रधानसचिव आसीत्। जीवनस्यान्तिमक्षणपर्यन्तं तेन न्यासस्य उन्नत्यै प्रयत्नो विहित' । तस्य परिचयोऽस्मिन्नेवाङ्के अन्यत्र प्रकाशितो वर्तते ।

अध्यक्षमहोदयैर्दीक्षान्तमहोत्सवानामध्यक्षता सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्त काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह महोदयाश्चित्सावज्ञानसस्थानस्य (का० हि० वि० वि०) दीक्षान्तमहोत्सवस्य १९ मार्च ८० दिनाङ्के तथा औद्योगिकसस्थानस्य (का० हि० वि० वि०) दीक्षान्तसमारोहस्य २८ मार्च ८० दिनाङ्के अध्यक्षता कृतवन्तः ।

तै हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य ३० मार्च १९८० दिनाङ्के संपन्नस्य सामान्यदीक्षान्तसमारोहस्यापि अध्यक्षता कृता । अस्मिन् दीक्षान्तसमारोहे भारतराष्ट्रस्य उपराष्ट्रपतिना सह अनेके विद्वासः कलाविदश्च सम्मानितोपाधिभिरलंकृता. । मादरटेरेसा अपि उपाधिना अलंकृता जाता । अष्टवर्षाणामन्तरेण एतादृशः दीक्षान्तमहोत्सवः हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये सपन्नः ।

विश्वसंस्कृतप्रतिष्ठानस्य द्वितीयाधिवेशनम्

न्यासस्याध्यक्षास्तत्र भवन्त काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया विश्वसस्कृतप्रतिष्ठानस्यापि अध्यक्षा. सन्ति। अस्य प्रतिष्ठानस्य २८ अप्रैल १९८० दिनाङ्के कुम्भावसरे उज्जैननगरे सम्मेलनं सजातम् । महाराजकाशिनरेशैः सभापतित्वं कृतम् । काञ्चीपीठस्य शंकराचार्यैः श्रीजयेन्द्रसरस्वतीस्वामिपादैरुद्घाटनं कृतम् । अस्मिन् अवसरे श्रीजयेन्द्रसरस्वतीस्वामिपादैः स्वगुरूणा श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वतीस्वामिपादादानामादेशानुसारत. न्यासस्याध्यक्षेभ्यस्तत्रभवद्भ्यः काशिनरेशेभ्य डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्य **वैदिकधर्मसंरक्षणाट्** इत्युपाधिः प्रदत्ता । एतदुपाधिपत्रं महाराजानां वैदिकधर्मस्य सरक्षणार्थम् आचरणार्थं च प्रदत्तम् । एतदुपाधिपत्रम् अस्मिन्नेवाङ्के अन्यत्र मुद्रितमस्ति ।

अस्मिन् उज्जैनप्रवासे महाराजा तत्र भवत्या ग्वालियरराजमातुः अनिच्छया आसन् तत्रभवत्या ऐतिहासिके प्रासादे च निवासं कृतवन्तः ।

न्यासिमण्डलस्य नूतनो सदस्यः

तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य न्यासिमण्डले ज्ञानेनवयसा च वृद्धः संपूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य लब्धप्रतिष्ठोऽनुसंधाननिदेशक. पण्डित बलदेवउपाध्यायो नियुक्तः । इदं स्थानं डा० सुनीति कुमार चाटुर्ज्यामहाशयस्य निधनेन रिक्तमासीत् । वयमेतां नियुक्तिमभिनन्दामः ।

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Mahārāja Banaras Vidyāmandir Trust
Maṅgalotsava

The 4th, 5th and 6th of March, 1980 were dedicated to the annual Maṅgalotsava in the Rāmnagar Fort The three-day celebrations were held by the Vidyāmandir Trust under the patronage of its Chairman, Dr Vibhūti Narain Singh A programme of vocal and instrumental music formed one of the main attractions of the celebrations, it was performed by the students and the staff of the Musical College, B H U , Vārāṇasī The highly qualified performance attracted the interest of all the presents.

Dhrupad Melā

This year the sixth Dhrupad Melā began in an auspicious day, Mahāśivarātri, the 14th of February, 1980 and ended in occasion of the moon eclipse, the 16th of February, 1980 The programme takes place in the night and is patronized by the Trust to revive the interest for a branch of music for long time forgotten In these last six years the interest has been on increase and now more and more people attend the performance, which is always highly artistic This year, also, although the two above mentioned occasions were a chance for other activities, numerous people attended and showed keen attention to the programme

Museum

The Museum, located in the Fort of Rāmnagar, attracts continuously people from all over the world, who come more and more numerous every year So while the visitors in 1978-1979 were 1,23,018 with a peak of 21,920 visitors in the month of February, in 1979-80 the visitors were 1,28,828 with a peak of 16,476 persons in the month of October, 1979 Here are some of the most illustrious persons who visited the museum and left their impressions

1. Dr (Mrs) Kapilā Vatsyāyan, Vice Chairman Sangeet Nātak Academy, Joint Educational Adviser, Deptt of Culture, Śāstrī Bhavan, New Delhi 'It was a great privilege and pleasure to see this unique collection. It reflects the dedication of His Highness and his ancestors to the art and culture of India '—

on 18 9 1979.

2 S Rimpoche, Sārnāth, Vārāṇasī—on 18 9.1979

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यास

मङ्गलोत्सवः

४-६ मार्च १९८० ई० दिनाङ्केषु दुर्गे तत्र भवता न्यासाध्यक्षाणा महाराजाना डॉ० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां सरक्षणे मङ्गलोत्सव. सपन्न । काशिकहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयीसगीतमहाविद्यालयस्य छात्रैः प्राध्यापकैश्च वाद्यसंगीतस्य कण्ठसगीतस्य च प्रदर्शन कृतम् । सर्वेषामुपस्थिताना कृते एतत् सगीतप्रदर्शनमतीवाकर्षकमासीत् ।

ध्रुपदमेला

अस्मिन् वर्षे षष्ठो ध्रुपदमेलकः शिवरात्रिदिने (१४ मार्च १९८०) प्रारब्ध सूर्यग्रहणदिने (१६ मार्च८० दिनाङ्के) समाप्ति च गतः। एतदायोजन रात्रौ भवति । न्यास सगीतशास्त्रस्य बहुकालाद्विस्मृतस्य ध्रुपदगानस्य संरक्षार्थम् एतस्मै आयोजनाय साहाय्य प्रददाति । विगतेषु षट्सु वर्षेषु जनाना रुचि वृद्धिं गता अनुदिन श्रोतृणा सख्या च वर्धिता । अस्मिन् वर्षेऽपि द्वयो. पर्वयो सद्भावादपि श्रोतृणा सख्या वृद्धा । एतत् पर्वद्वय धार्मिककृत्यार्थं भवति । जना. स्वरुचि प्रदर्शितवन्त ।

संग्रहालयः

रामनगरदुर्गे स्थित एष संग्रहालयः अनुदिनं समस्तजगतो दर्शकान् आकर्षति । दर्शकाणा सख्या अनुदिन विवर्धते । १०७८-७९ वर्षे दर्शकाना सख्या १,२३,०१८ आसीत् । यस्या सर्वाधिकसंख्या फरवरी मासे २१,९२० आसीत् । १९७९-८० वर्षे दर्शकाना सख्या १,२८,८२८ आसीत् । यस्या सर्वाधिका सख्या अक्टूबर १९७९ मासे १६,४७६ आसीत् । केषाचिद् विशिष्टविदुषा नामानि ते स्वमतान्युल्लिखितानि अधो ददते ।

१. डॉ० श्रीमती कपिला वात्स्यायनमहोदया, संगीतनाटकसस्थानस्य उपाध्यक्षा केन्द्रीय शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य सह शिक्षापरामर्शदात्री च—तया लिखितम् 'इम सग्रहं दृष्ट्वा अतीवसौभाग्यम् आनन्दं चानुभवामि । एष सग्रहो महाराजाना तस्य पूर्वजाना च भारतीयसस्कृति कला प्रति चानुरागं व्यनक्ति ।' १८.९.७९ दिनाङ्के.

२. श्री एस. रिमपोछे—सारनाथवास्तव्यः—१८.९.७९ दिनाङ्के

3 Sir John and Lady Thomson, British High Commissioner in India. 'The collection of ivories is superior to any other we have seen The beauties of this heritage are something which should be widely known and seen '—on 3 10 1979

4. Sarkar Prasad Chief Justice of W. Bengal— 13 10.1979

5 Mrs Ratna Ghosh—on 13 10 1979.

6 Martin Evans, Deputy British High Commissioner—on 25 10.1979

7 Anjun Quder, descendant of the king of Oudh—on 6 11 1979.

8. Dr Werner and Mrs Annamarie Handke, German Consul General, Calcutta 'My wife and myself will never forget the moments we spent in these magnificent surroundings full of tradition and historical memories '

Mahārāja Udit Narain Singh Mānasa Pracāra Nidhi Navāhna Pārāyaṇa

A nine-day long recitation (navāhna) of the Rāmacaritamānas of Tulsīdās was held in the town of Chakiyā from the 16th to the 24th of April, 1980 This Trust organizes every year such a recitation in the Kālī Mandir, where plenty of people gather to take part in the event The Pātha-kartā (or reciter) was Pandit Śrī Śiva Śankar Pandyā and the Pravacana-kartās (or speakers) were Śrī Narain, Śri Rām Lakkhan Dwivedi, Śri Vidyāratna etc The Chairman of the Trust, H. H the Mahārāja Di Vibhūti Narain Singh also attended the kathā daily

Essay Competition

The annual Essay Competition for the Graduate and Post-Graduate students was held this year also under the auspices of Mahārāja Udit Narain Singh Mānasa Pracāra Nidhi. The subject of the Essay consisted in commenting the following verse of the Rāmacaritamānas, Ayodhyā Kānda, 74

पूजनीय प्रिय परम जहाँ ते।
सब मानि अहि राम के नाते ॥

For the second consecutive year the first prize was assigned to Śrī Anil Kumār Singh, B A (Final), B H U, Vārānasī, who got Rs. 100 with certificate. Judges were Lakṣmī Śankar Vyāsa,

३. भारतस्थित ब्रिटिश हाईकमिश्नर सरजान थाम्सन तस्य धर्मपत्नी च—हस्तिदन्तनिर्मितवस्तुना सग्रह अरामभ्यां दृष्टान्यसग्रहापेक्षया श्रेष्ठः। अस्य परम्पराया. सौन्दर्य व्यापकरूपेण प्रचारयोग्य दर्शनीय चास्ति :—३.१०.१९७९. दिनाङ्के ।

४. पश्चिमबङ्गप्रदेशस्य मुख्यो न्यायाधीश श्रीशकरप्रसादमहोदयः—१३ १०.७९. दिनाङ्के ।

५. श्रीमती रत्ना घोष.—१३.१०.७९ दिनाङ्के ।

६. भारतस्थितः ब्रिटिश उपायुक्तः मार्टिन एवन्स—२५.१० ९९ दिनाङ्के ।

७. श्री अर्जुन कुदर—अवधराजस्य वंशीय —६.११.७९ दिनाङ्के ।

८ कल्कत्तास्थित जर्मनशासनस्य परामर्शदाता डॉ० वार्नर तथा श्रीमती अन्नामारी हण्डके—अह मम पत्नी च परस्पराया इतिहासस्य च स्मृतिभिः पूर्ण अस्मिन् सग्रहे क्षणितान् क्षणान् कदापि विस्मर्तुं न शक्नुव. ।

महाराजा उदितनारायणसिंह मानसप्रचार निधिः

नवाह्न पारायणम्

चकिया नगरे १६ अप्रैल १९.८० दिनाङ्कमारभ्य २४ अप्रैल दिनाङ्कम् यावत् तुलसीदासस्य रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपारायणं सजातम् । एष न्यासः प्रतिवर्षं चकियानगरस्थे काल्लीमन्दिरे रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपारायणस्य प्रवचनस्य च आयोजनं करोति यस्मिन् बहवो जनाः सम्मिलिता भवन्ति । पारायणं श्रीशिवशंकर पण्डया महोदयेन कृतम् प्रवचनानि च श्रीशिवनारायण व्यासेन श्रीरामलखनद्विवेदिव्यासेन श्रीविद्यारत्नव्यासेन अन्यैश्च कृतानि । न्यासाध्यक्षास्तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशा महाराजा डा० विभूतिनारायण सिंह महोदयाः पूर्ववत् प्रतिदिनं प्रवचनेषु उपस्थिता आसन् ।

निबन्धप्रतियोगिता

महाराजा उदितनारायणसिंह मानसप्रचारन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने अस्मिन्नपि वर्षे स्नातकछात्राणां कृते स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां च कृते निबन्धप्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । निबन्धस्य विषय आसीत्—

पूजनीय प्रिय परम जहाँ ते । सब मानिअहि रामके नाते ॥
(अयोध्याकाण्ड ७४)

काशिकहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य बी. ए कक्षाया छात्रः श्रीअनिलकुमारसिंह अस्मिन् वर्षेऽपि १०० रूप्यकाणा प्रथमपुरस्कारः द्वितीयवर्षेऽपि प्राप्तवान् । अनेन छात्रेणैव विगते वर्षेऽपि प्रथमपुरस्कारो लब्ध. । श्रीलक्ष्मीशकरव्यास.,

Viśvanātha Śāstrī Dātār and Chandradhar Prasād Narain Singh. The function was organized at Thakurbari, Kamacchā, on the occasion of the death anniversary of Sant Hariharа Bābā, a famous commentator on S. Tulsīdās literature in late XIX century.

The passing away of Dr Hazāri Prasād Dwivedi deprived the Trust of one of the illustrious scholars on Tulsīdās and other Sant literatures.

Mahārāj Kashirāj Dharmakārya Nidhi

1. Mahārāṇi Rāmaratna Kuṁvari Sanskrit Pāthaśālā, Fort, Rāmnagar

Since 1923 this Sanskrit School for boys imparts education in the traditional way upto the Uttara Madhyamā (or high secondary school) of the Sampūrnānanda Sanskrit Visvavidyālaya, Vārānasī The pāthasālā is sheltered in the Palace of Rāmnagar.

2 Mahārāja Balwant Singh Degree College, Gaṅgāpur

This college, which is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University, imparts education in several subjects It was founded in 1972 in the rural area of Gangāpur, which is the birth place of Mahārāja Balvant Singh, founder of the Kāsirājya at Rāmnagar The college gives shelter to more than hundred students and provides a good chance to young persons in the villages to acquire a high standard education

3 Rāja Mānasa Rāma Law College, Rājātālāb

Established in 1973 as a part of the Mahārāja Balwant Singh College, this Department is also attached to the Gorakhpur University The numerous Law students are specially trained to help the weeker section of the society in the villages This year there were almost 500 students enrolled in this Department.

4. Bronze medals with cash prizes were distributed to B H U Sanskrit Department for students obtaining the highest marks in the University and to the Sampūrnānand Sanskrit Visvavidyālaya for the best foreign student

Bronze medals and cash prizes were also given to the best student of Sanskrit in the Kāsī Naresh Mahāvidyālaya at Gyānpur, Vārāṇasi.

श्रीविश्वनाथशास्त्रीदातारः, श्री चन्द्रधरप्रासादनारायणसिंहश्च निर्णायका आसन्। कमच्छा (वाराणस्यां) स्थिते ठाकुरवाड़ीमन्दिरे श्रीहरिहरबाबा संतस्य निर्वाणदिवसे उत्सवस्यायोजनमासीत्। सन्तहरिहरबाबा महाशयो विगतायां एकोनविंशतिशताब्द्यां तुलसीसाहित्यस्य टीकाकार आसीत्।

डा० हजारीप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयस्य निधनेन तुलसीसाहित्यस्य संत-साहित्यस्य मर्मज्ञो विद्वान् लुप्तः। एष महापुरुषः न्यासस्य परामर्शदाता निर्णायकश्चासीत्।

महाराजा काशिराज धर्मकार्य निधिः

१. महारानी रामत्नकुँवरि संस्कृतपाठशाला, रामनगर

१९२३ ई० वर्षे स्थापितैषा पाठशाला संपूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तरमध्यमाकक्षापर्यन्तं शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति। एषा पाठशाला रामनगरदुर्गे अवस्थिता वर्तते।

२. महाराजा बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालय गङ्गापुर

वर्तमानकाशिराज्यस्य संस्थापकस्य महाराजाबलवन्तसिंहस्य जन्मभूमौ गङ्गापुरनामके स्थाने एष महाविद्यालयः १९७२ ई० वर्षे स्थापितः गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालयेन संबद्धः। अनेकेषु कलाविषयेषु बी. ए. कक्षापर्यन्तमध्यापनं भवति। छात्राणां संख्या शताधिकं वर्तते। ग्राम्यछात्रेभ्यः उच्चशिक्षावसरप्रदानाय अस्य महाविद्यालयस्योपयोगिता।

३. राजा मनसाराम विधिविद्यालयः, राजातालाब

१९७३ ई० वर्षे अक्षयनवम्यां स्थापितः एष महाविद्यालयः महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालयस्याङ्गरूपेण कार्यं करोति। निर्धनजनेभ्यः विधि-विषयकसहायताप्रदानस्य भावनया एष महाविद्यालयः ग्राम्यछात्रेभ्यः विधि-शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति। छात्राणां संख्या प्रायः शतत्रयं वर्तते।

४. अनेनन्यासेन काशिकहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतविषये सर्वोत्तम छात्राय कांस्यपदकं रुप्यकाणि च प्रदत्तानि।

५. सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये सर्वोत्तम वैदेशिक छात्राय कांस्य-पदकं द्रव्याणि च प्रदत्तानि।

६. ज्ञानपुरस्थे काशीनरेशमहाविद्यालये सर्वोत्तमसंस्कृतछात्राय कांस्यपदकं द्रव्याणि च प्रदत्तानि।

'Hindutva' Magazine

The Magazine 'Hindutva', a Journal dedicated to propagation of Hindu Religion, Culture and Heritage, has completed its 10th year of publication Every year the Mahārāja Kashirāj Dharma-kārya Nidhi gives financial assistance to the Viśva Hindu Dharma Sammelan towards the publication of this magazine The journal is sent all over the world and serves also the purpose of uniting the Hindus living in different countries

हिन्दुत्व पत्रिका

हिन्दूधर्मस्य संस्कृतेः परम्परायाश्च प्रचारप्रसारेषु सन्नद्धा आङ्लभाषा-'हिन्दुत्व' पत्रिका स्वप्रकाशनस्य दश वर्षाणि व्यतीतवती। प्रतिवर्षं अस्या-याः प्रकाशनार्थं महाराजकाशिराजधर्मकार्यनिधिः विश्वहिन्दूधर्म ज्ञाय आर्थिकसहायताप्रदानं करोति। पत्रिका सम्पूर्णे जगति व्याप्तास्ति प्रदेशस्थितहिन्दूनाम् एकीकरणस्य कार्यं च करोति।

॥ श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वर ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखिलभूमण्डलालकारत्नयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिदेवतासेवितश्रीकामाक्षी-देवीसनाथ श्रीमदेकाम्रनाथश्रीमहादेवीसनाथश्रीहस्तिगिरिनाथसाक्षात्कारपरमाधिष्ठानसत्यव्रतनामाकितकाञ्चीदिव्यक्षेत्रे शारदामठसुस्थितानाम् अतुलितसुधारसमाधुर्यकमलासनकामिनीधम्मिल्लसम्फुल्लमल्लिकामालिकानिष्यन्दमकरन्दहारी सौव[illegible] अनवरताद्वैतविद्याविनोदरसिकानाम् निरन्तरालकृतीकृतशान्तिदान्तिभूम्नाम् सकलभुवनचक्रप्रतिष्ठापकश्रीचक्रप्रतिष्ठाविख्यातयशोऽलंकृतानाम् निखिलपाषण्डषण्डकण्टकोत्पाटनेन विशदीकृतवेदवेदान्तमार्गषण्मतप्रतिष्ठापकाचार्याणाम् श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यवर्यश्रीजगद्गुरुश्रीमच्छंकरभगवत्पादाचार्याणाम् अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनाभिषिक्तश्रीमन्महादेवेन्द्रसरस्वतीसयमीन्द्राणाम् अन्तेवासिवर्यश्रीमच्चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वतीश्रीपादादेशानुसारेण श्रीमज्जयेन्द्रसरस्वतीश्रीपादै. ।

महामहिम्नाम् डाक्टरपदविभूषितानाम् महामण्डलेश्वरकाशीनरेश्वराणाम् अनन्तश्रीयुतानाम् श्रीविभूतिनारायणसिंहबहादुरमहोदयाना विषये एवं क्रियते नारायणस्मृतिः ॥

द्वादशज्योतिर्लिङ्गक्षेत्रेषु सप्तमोक्षपुरीष्वन्यतमायाम् महाकालेश्वरहरसिद्धिपीठाम्बिकयो. आस्थानभूतायाम् शकारम्भकविक्रमादित्यकवितल्लजविद्वन्महोदयवृन्दसमाराधनैकपरायणभोजमहाराजादियशोविस्तारिण्याम् कालिदासभवभूत्यादिमहाकविप्रतिभोन्मेषदायिन्याम् अवन्तिपुर्याम् अस्याम् सिंहस्थगुरुमेलने महत्यस्मिन् पुण्यकाले द्वादशज्योतिर्लिङ्गेषु सप्तमोक्षपुरीषु चान्यतमत्वेन तथा प्रलयेष्यविलीनेति अनितरसाधारणी प्रभा जुषन्त्या वाराणस्या. तेषा नरेशानासनिधानं दृष्ट्वा प्रमोदामहे । भारतभूमेः या वैदिकी संस्कृति.—या सनातनधर्मनिष्ठा-तयोरविकलादर्शभूता भगवतो वाराणसीपुरपते. विश्वनाथस्य चरस्वरूपतया वाराणसीप्रजाभिः आराध्यमाना अविच्छिन्ना राजपरपरा तस्या महतीमुन्नतिं निजाचारसमृद्धया परिपालयन्त वेदरक्षण न केवल प्रचारेण किन्तु स्वाध्यायेन तथा निजापत्यानामपि यथाविधि ब्रह्मचर्याद्यनुष्ठापनपूर्वकाध्यापनेन च समर्थयन्तः, साङ्गवेदचतुष्टयस्य गुरुशिष्यसमाराधनेन समृद्धि साधयन्तः इमे काशीनरेशा. यद्यत्र महति पर्वणि माहात्म्यानुसन्धानेन सन्निदधते—नेद विस्मयावहम् । न वानप्रतीक्षितम् । परन्तु यदृच्छया तेऽस्माभि. समागताः इति महान् प्रमोदः । अस्मिन्नवसरे महात्रिपुरसुन्दरीसमेतश्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरस्य प्रसादं अमोघं तैभ्यः आशासानैः अस्माभि. तान् अनन्तश्रीयुतकाशीनरेश श्रीविभूतिनारायणसिंहबहादुरान् **वैदिक धर्मसम्राट्** इति समुचितेन विरुदेन विभूष्य क्रियते यात्रास्थानम् ।

उज्जयिनी

रौद्रसवत्सरवैशाखशुक्लत्रयोदशी ॥

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